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Most Southern public schools are still unintegrated despite the 1954 Supreme Court decision. This study sought to determine the causal factors related to the decision of those Negro mothers who did enroll their children in white schools. Samples were 207 Negro mothers with children in grades one through five who were enrolled in a North Carolina school district which had opted for a "free choice" plan. Interviewers were Negro women. The following factors were found to be significant for an increase in the probability of the mother's making a "favorable" decision: valuation of education, perception of educational facilities differential, educational expectations, (inversely) perception of Negro social approval, valuation of desegregation, knowledge of the environment, and powerlessness. Two models were tested, and a fused model constructed. The important causal variables found were: knowledge of the environment, powerlessness, valuation of desegregation, and valuation of education. Noted was a conflict between pride in blackness and a desire for good education (usually white controlled). Community controlled supplemental schools teaching black culture could lessen this conflict and school integration should be reciprocal. (Author)

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Final Report

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# FACTORS IN SCHOOL INTEGRATION DECISIONS OF NEGRO MOTHERS

Murray Binderman

University of North Carolina

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

December 15, 1968

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# SUMMARY

Although more than a decade has passed since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, most public schools in the South remain unintegrated. Only in part can this be explained by Negro fears of white reprisals. This report was designed to examine factors which were related to the probability that a Negro mother would enroll her child in a formerly all white school under a plan whereby she is the ultimate decision-maker. An attempt was then made to test several models of selected sets of interrelated variables.

The Orange County, North Carolina, school district, having opted for a freedom-of-choice plan, was sampled for mothers choosing integration and mothers choosing segregation for their children. By means of questionnaires administered by specially trained Negro females, both groups of mothers ($N = 207$) were interviewed. The data was later coded and analyzed.

The following factors were found to be significantly related to the probability of the mother making a decision to enroll the child in an integrated school: valuation of education, perception of educational facilities differential, educational expectations, (inversely) perception of Negro social approval, valuation of desegregation, knowledge of the environment and powerlessness. Two models were tested, modified as a result of the partial correlations obtained, and a fused model of the two tested models was constructed. The important causal variables found were: knowledge of the environment, powerlessness, valuation of desegregation and valuation of education.

The researcher noted a conflict between rising black pride and desire for quality and quantity education, usually white controlled. A plan for the establishment of supplemental, community controlled schools teaching black culture was proposed to lessen the conflict. To increase desegregation it was suggested that integration be made a dual process: whites to "black" schools and blacks to "white" schools.

# INTRODUCTION

## Introduction

In May of 1954, the United States Supreme Court culminated a series of earlier decisions concerning racial segregation and discrimination by declaring segregation in public education to be "a denial of the equal protection of the law."[1] One year later, implementation of the 1954 decision was delegated to the lower courts "to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases."[2] One latent consequence of these decrees has been the enrichment of literature on the Negro American, especially as pertains to his nature, his rights, his aspirations and his needs.[3] Another has been the institutionalization, by state law and/or practice, of avoidance, evasion and delaying tactics, manifestly designed to hinder implementation of the 1954 decision, especially in the South.[4] The legal attempts to avoid desegregation consequences are encompassed by the following four categories:[5]

1. Institution of doctrines of interposition and nullification.
2. Disqualification of potential plaintiffs and suits.
3. Changes in the classification bases of separation from "race" to "scholastic aptitude," "psychological aptitude" and "free-choice."
4. Separation of the operation of the schools from the state.

By late 1965 (the time when the researcher first came into contact with southern school systems), the attempts at interposition and nullification, as well as those of disqualification, had proven to be unsuccessful at preventing desegregation. Also, the racial separation of schools on the part of the state was proving itself a very costly and unsatisfactory strategy (in its highwater attempt by the Norfolk, Virginia, school system). Separate schools occurring by "free-choice," however, are still in existence as this report is being completed. The success of "free-choice" or "freedom-of-choice" plans, for their proponents, lies in the fact that Negroes living in "free-choice"-opting school districts seemingly have chosen not to enroll children in white schools in large numbers.

This researcher has been led to an interesting question which, it seems, has largely been ignored by previous investigators. One may note the small number of integrators, concluding that "free-choice" plans do not meet the "with all deliberate speed" criteria set up by the Supreme Court in 1955, and seek other means of implementing the will of the Court.

Some civil rights leaders contend that it is unrealistic to expect that southern Negro parents will ever initiate voluntary transfers of their children to predominantly white schools to any significant extent.[6] Indeed, Lomax and others[7] make the point that having to apply for transfer gives the Negro the feeling of changing schools in order to be with white people. "This is a difficult psychological hurdle for southern Negroes to overcome. The truth, on the whole, is that they don't want to be with white people as such. They do want the best schools however..."[8] Lomax obviously recognizes the existence of the problem; yet, his explanations for its existence are based not on any documented research, but apparently on his own interpretation of "reality." Indeed, he does not offer any explanation of why any Negroes would voluntarily apply for transfers to white schools.

Lomax brings up an interesting point in his supposition that "Negroes do want the best schools." One takes as an assumption that white schools are "better" than Negro schools. If this assumption is, in fact, true, then the lack of larger numbers of Negro transfers to white schools under "free-choice" plans becomes even more puzzling. One solution to this dilemma might be that white schools are not "better" in facilities or as a source for potential academic achievement of Negro students. Another answer is that Negroes may possibly "perceive" segregated black schools to be the educational equivalent and the achievement-potential superior to the white schools.

Relevant to the former solution are the conclusions of a recent report by James Coleman.[9] The report concludes that the quality of the schools attended by the average white is higher than the quality of the schools attended by the average Negro, but the average differences in quality are not as high as had been previously thought. Further, Negroes are found to be more affected by the quality of a school than are whites. In terms of achievement, the report finds that the earlier the grade that integration occurs, and the greater the amount of desegregation, the higher the achievement level of the Negro students. The report goes on to suggest that while integration on the basis of race and socio-economic class improves achievement levels, it does so conditionally, under the circumstances that the Negro population is less than 50% of the total school population and that at least 50% of the student population is middle or upper class. Also, it might be noted that under these imposed conditions, both Negro and white achievement levels increase.

The validity of the second solution, that Negroes perceive black schools as being equal or superior to white schools, is more difficult to assess. An individual's "perception" of reality may be a logically derived function of an objective comparison between different categories. However, the "perception" may also be conceived as the subjective justification of the consequences of an action. Thus, in the former case the individual compares phenomena and, other things being equal (which they rarely are), chooses the more rewarding one--in this case the better school.[10] In the latter case the individual, a product of his environment and milieu, makes a decision (perhaps on an other-than rational basis), and then attempts to justify the correctness of the decision by devaluation of the desirability and reward-producing power of the rejected alternative,[11] here subjectively increasing the quality of the chosen school. Since it is not yet possible to separate the logical before-the-fact evaluation from the after-the-fact justification when data is collected after the decision has been made, this study will examine differences in perceptions favoring desegregation as beliefs and evaluations currently held by the two groups, integrators and non-integrators. If we can determine commonalities among the integrators which do not exist within the non-integrators, we may also move toward the answers to questions involving problems of Negro participation/non-participation in many desegregated activities.

Therefore, the study will attempt to answer the question: Why, under a free-choice system do some Negroes enroll in desegregated schools, while other Negroes continue to enroll in previously segregated black schools? The first problem that confronted the researcher, as seen in the preceding paragraph, was the choice of unit of analysis. One possible unit would have been the individual. This choice would have dictated a clearly psychological orientation involving the cognitions involved in decision-making, using projective techniques and in-depth questioning, etc., and perhaps ultimately permitting us to explain the factors involved in the decisions of a number of individuals. The researcher decided that while the individual would have been a quite acceptable choice, a more relevant choice for his purposes would be the "group" as the basic unit of analysis. He would, thus, obtain information from individuals, but would analyze the data in terms of groups, using as his two groups the break-down into non-integrators and integrators that had occurred by choice of school. One factor in the choice of the group as his unit of analysis was that the use of those techniques which would involve higher levels of interviewer skills than were available (a problem that occurs with the administration of some projective techniques) could then be bypassed in favor of more widely accepted scales and indices easily administered by lesser-skilled interviewers. In addition, the question to which the study is addressed implies comparison and distinction between individuals on the basis of the group into which their decision placed them. It seems to this researcher that there are broader theoretical as well as policy implications in determining the characteristics and general decision-making factors affecting groups of people than in determining why individual "A" made his decision and noting that individual "B" made the same decision, but probably from a widely diverse consideration of different factors.

Another problem confronting the researcher was the lack of precise terminology, especially as concerns several of the key concepts being dealt with in this study. First, a school will be termed a "desegregated school" when more than one Negro student had been enrolled in a previously all white public school. This definition permits us to delimit the study, helping to avoid the possible complexities imposed by the consideration of problems inherent in "pioneering" integration. The school district to be sampled was considered to be a "desegregated school district,"[12] since it contained several schools which, as defined above, are desegregated schools. Second, the term "Negro" will be used to refer to any person who tends to act towards himself and others (and us treated by others) as having different life chances than other persons, called "whites," and who has "any Negro ancestry."[13] Operationally, a person will be defined as a Negro if listed as a Negro parent or guardian of a Negro child on the school records of that child, as on file in the office of the school principal in the various schools in the county. A "Negro community" will, therefore, be defined as a group of Negroes who usually reside in close proximity, engage in common recreation, practice endogamy and engage in other forms of social interaction.[14] A discussion of the Negro community in which the study took place, as well as an examination of the changes in the "mood" of this community and the larger surrounding white community over the course of this study, appear later in the report, entitled, "Definition of the Situation."

## Previous Research

The relative paucity of research in the immediate field of inquiry presented a temporary difficulty for the selection of relevant research variables. In the area of Negro decision-making in desegregated school enrollment, the situation most comparable to the research reported here, only three studies have been found in the literature. Crockett[15] compared the Negro high school students who transferred to newly desegregated formerly white schools with those who decided to remain in the predominantly Negro schools. Crockett was interested solely in "social class" determinants and found no significant relationships when "social class" was used as a distinguishing "causal" variable. Crockett's study does not prove itself useful for our purposes since he ignored and did not statistically (or experimentally) control for possible intervening variables such as friendships among the students, ties to the particular school itself, or the possible factor of parental (or other adult) influence on the decision of the child. In other words, Crockett held to the tenuous assumption that the decision was made by the child, "with all other factors being equal." Weinstein and Geisel[16] dealt with the parental decision to send children to desegregated schools. They found that the Negro families who sent their children to the Negro schools were lower in socio-economic status than the Negro families who sent their children to desegregated white schools. Socio-economic class was measured here by the use of mother's education and father's occupation, and each was found to be significantly related to the "favorable"[17] decision. Thus, no clear, unconflicting pattern emerges as to the effect of socio-economic class or status on the decision to enroll a child in a desegregated white school. Further, even if a clear effect were to be observed, one might wonder as to the causal effect of socio-economic class, since socio-economic status itself is at best a static indicator of a variable factor, a style of life or an uncrystallized pattern of behaviors. At any rate, no attempt was made to relate the interacting variables in a causally linked pattern.

Saenger,[18] in an assessment of the Open Enrollment Program in New York City, "interviewed matched pairs of predominantly Negro parents who volunteered (or declined) to have their children bussed to desegregated elementary schools." He reports that the parents of children who transferred had higher incomes, more education and more prestigious occupations."[19] In addition, "23 out of the 34 parents from the transfer group, but only 12 of the 33 parents from the non-transfer group, had completed a high school education or more."[20] In this researcher's pretest of his questionnaire, it might be noted, it was found that 14 of 17 integrating mothers, but only 3 of 18 non-integrating mothers, had received any post-high school educational training (if cutting points were placed at high school graduation, the figures became 17 of 17 integrator mothers, and 12 of 18 non-integrator mothers, thus confirming Saenger's finding). As in the other studies, Saenger's incomplete controls (or total lack of any controls) allowed possible extraneous variation to enter into the study. For example, Saenger deals only with "bussing" and not the question of integration itself. The question of how much additional variance is added to the variable of integration decision by the institution of transportation is left unanswered. Also, since the study took place in the North, one is left to wonder what differences would occur in a rural area where de facto real estate segregation and the pattern of semi-neighborhood schools were not relevant considerations. It should be noted that Saenger does suggest that knowledge of the environment also may play a part in his results. He notes that 19 of 33 "refuser" or non-integrator parents he contacted said that they were unaware that their children had had an opportunity to transfer. Saenger indicates it may be that these children failed to deliver the slips sent home by the schools to explain the program[21] or the parents may not have read them. However, it should be noted that community newspapers as well as local radio, newspaper and TV communications media have given frequent attention and publicity to forthcoming school registration days. Saenger is implicitly suggesting that the greater the knowledge of the environment in which the individual exists, which is a function of his contact with communications media, the more likely the individual is to engage in non-refuser behavior, whereas the less knowledge of the environment, the less likely to know that the opportunity for non-refuser behavior exists.

Another study, this one by Cagle and Beker,[22] conducted in a medium-sized northern city with a Negro population of about 5 per cent, found that the acceptors and refusers of (voluntary) bussing-desegregation were roughly comparable, especially with regard to social status indicators. Further, ordinal birth position of the child did not relate to the decision. The only difference found was the lower frequency of expectation of the refuser parent to have the child finish more than a high school education. The authors suggest that a minority of the acceptors may have lowered their expectations for their children upon contact with the higher achieving and more academically competitive setting represented by the predominantly white middle class. The results of the Cagle and Beker study are consistent with the results of the study by Luchterhand and Weller,[23] who, in a study done in New Rochelle, using measures of social class as their prime independent variable, suggest that "deciders" and "non-deciders" were relatively similar, except that a greater proportion of the parents of "deciders" belonged to the NAACP and to the Urban League. Luchterhand and Weller seem to ignore the point that the Urban League attracts the upper-middle and upper classes to its membership while the NAACP, until recently, was considered a rather remote and radical organization by the Negro community.[24]

From the above few studies, we see that most of the literature pertaining directly to the decision to enroll a child in a desegregated school deals with the decision as some inconsistently demonstrated function of social class measured in various ways. In none of the studies is there an attempt to specify any other independent variables or to relate them in some causal sequence and test derived models. Summing up the studies, including suggestions, the following variables and types of relationships are presented in Table 1. From the Table, then, we can say that this aspect of school integration has not yielded consistent findings, nor has much published research been devoted to Negro participation in integration.

Other research has been relevant to shedding some light on a possible underlying theoretical linkage. One might briefly examine the primary basis of Negro-white relationships in the past from a framework of "superordination-subordination," as suggested by Georg Simmel.[25] Simmel suggests super-subordination as an asymetrical form of association based on superiority exercised by an individual, a group or a principle."[26] He notes, however that this position cannot be maintained unless "there is a reciprocal action of the inferior upon the superior."[27]

TABLE 1

VARIABLES EXAMINED IN RELEVANT STUDIES OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION DECISIONS

| | Study | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variables | Crockett | Cagle-Beker | Saenger | Luchterhand-Weller | Weinstein-Geisel |
| Socio-Economic Status | | | | | |
| Income | 0 | 0 | Direct | - | - |
| Dwelling Measures | 0 | - | - | - | - |
| Education of Female | - | 0 | - | Inverse | Direct |
| Prestige of Male Occupation | - | 0 | Direct | - | Direct |
| Hollingshead 2-Factor Index | - | - | - | Inverse | - |
| Educational Expectations | - | Inverse | - | - | - |
| Educational Aspirations | - | 0 | - | - | - |
| Membership in NAACP-Urban League | - | - | - | - | Direct |
| Alienation (Srole) | - | - | - | - | Suggested |
| Desire to Decrease Powerlessness | - | - | - | Inverse | - |
| Proximity to School | - | - | - | - | Direct[a] |
| Birth Order | - | 0 | - | - | Direct[a] |
| Number of Children in Household | - | 0 | - | - | - |
| Number of Children Attending School | - | 0 | - | - | - |

[a] A direct relationship was found in the data, but on the basis of the larger study Weinstein and Geisel discount Proximity and Birth Order as distinguishing integrators from non-integrators, with no further explanation for the grounds of their rejection of the data.

In other words, there must occur to some extent "acceptance of their status by the lower group."[28] Further, given the belief-behavior system of the subordinate-superordinate relationship, we might expect to find either acceptance or rejection of the subordinate role. Indeed, we might ask how the Negro has reacted to the subordinate status he was forced to assume, an illustration of which is the initiation and maintenance of segregated, unequal facilities. Johnson[29] has suggested that behavior usually falls into one of several basic patterns: acceptance, direct hostility and aggression, or indirect, "deflected" hostility. He further points out that these patterns seem to be more easily discernable in Southern-born Negroes. Thus, to the degree that a Negro would reject the belief system of the subordinated, we could then expect a rejection of the behaviors associated with segregated, subordinate status. We can then suggest that Negroes who enroll their children in desegregated schools are more likely to have rejected the values of segregation, and, indeed, have higher valuations of desegregation of all facilities in the community. In addition, reference group theory would suggest that "higher" status and/or socially mobile Negroes are most likely to emulate the white, middle class way of life." Kleiner and Parker conclude that:

> Negroes in the higher status positions tend to have values more similar to those of the white middle class, stronger desires to associate with whites, more internalization of negative attitudes toward other Negroes and relatively weaker ethnic identification than individuals in lower status positions.[30]

They also suggest that higher status reference groups are the primary determinant of patterns of ethnic identification among mobile urban Negroes and other groups exerting secondary influences, but do not test this. Homans advances the thought of social approval as a generalized reinforcer,[31] and Lewis found that the Negro community exhibited a distinct and conscious class system.[32] Frazier pointed out that:

> Middle class Negroes have been able to enjoy a certain prestige and status behind the wall of segregation which would be threatened by desegregation. Moreover, middle class Negroes enjoy a certain emotional security by not being forced into competition with whites in the American community.[33]

Thus, we find that contradictory predictions could be made suggesting causes for integrating and causes for not integrating.

Cagle and Baker touch lightly on educational expectations and educational aspirations. Sewell[34] found a relationship between educational aspirations and social status in the white community, while Kleiner and Parker[35] also found a direct relationship existing in the Negro community between high social status and educational aspirations for children. Further, Bell[36] finds the educational aspirations of Negro mothers for their children to be related to their own educational attainment. And, according to Westie and Howard,[37] higher occupational status Negroes express lower social distance toward whites in general and higher occupational status whites in particular. Cothran[38] also found a relationship between social class and expressed negative responses toward whites with the lower classes showing more uniformly unfavorable attitudes than the upper and middle classes. Thus, we may sum up a list of variables, from the literature, which are related either directly or indirectly (as effects of social class and, thus, possibly interacting with another "effect" of social class) to the decision of a Negro mother to enroll her child in a formerly white, now desegregated school. (See Table 2)

Results of a pretest conducted in Durham, North Carolina, suggested several other variables. It should be mentioned that the pretest was used as, what is popularly called in the scientific community, a "fishing expedition."[39] Several "hunches" of the researcher's were subjected to study and although most of these variables washed out, several others could not be rejected out of hand. Since there were only 35 interviews conducted during the pretest and selection of subjects was not conducted in a completely random manner, no statistical significance could be justified. But the more interesting of these variables were included on the final form of the questionnaire and include:

Perceived Educational Differential (perceived by parents, between white and Negro schools)
Required Education
Skin Color
Perceived Opportunities for Desegregation
Distance Differential

These, then, were the variables with which we decided to work in order to construct a model of decision-making behavior regarding the choice of enrolling a child in a desegregated, formerly all-white school or in a segregated, formerly Negro school.

TABLE 2

VARIABLES PRESENTED BY RESEARCHER

| Variables | Relevant Authors-Researchers Mentioned |
|---|---|
| Anomie | Weinstein-Geisel |
| Anti-Negro Expression | Kleiner-Parker |
| Anti-White Expression | Cothran, Westie-Howard |
| Birth Order | Cagle-Beker, Weinstein-Geisel |
| Educational Aspirations | Cagle-Beker, Bell, Sewell, Kleiner-Parker |
| Educational Expectations | Cagle-Beker |
| Education of Female Parent | Cagle-Beker, Luchterhand-Weller, Weinstein-Geisel |
| Knowledge of the Environment | Saenger |
| NAACP/Urban League Membership | Weinstein-Geisel |
| Occupation of Male Parent | Cagle-Beker, Saenger, Weinstein-Geisel |
| Powerlessness | Luchterhand-Weller |
| Social Approval | Homans |
| Valuation of Desegregation | Simmel, Kleiner-Parker, Lewis, Frazier |

## The Sample

Sampling was accomplished by first obtaining from the administrative office of each of the schools in the Orange County School District a list of the names of all Negro parents of children registered in Grades 1 through 5. The list was dichotomized into one of "integrators" and one of "non-integrators" and a number assigned to each parent on each list from a table of random numbers. Since it had been decided previously that 222 parents would be sampled and since there were only 65 integrator parents listed, it was decided that all integrator parents would be interviewed, with the remainder of the 222 being proportioned among non-integrators according to the number of Negro parents of children in each school in the first five grades. These 222 subjects represented 1195 children enrolled in grades 1 through 5, 226 in desegregated white schools and 969 in segregated Negro schools. The final distribution of interviews was to be as noted below in Table 3.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF ANTICIPATED AND COMPLETED INTERVIEWS

| School | Anticipated Interviews | Completed Interviews |
|---|---|---|
| Integrated: | | |
| Aycock | 12 | 12 |
| Cameron Park | 53 | 51 |
| Non-Integrated, Negro: | | |
| Cedar Grove | 48 | 43 |
| Central | 82 | 77 |
| Efland Cheeks | 27 | 24 |
| Total | 222 | 207 |

Although it had been anticipated that the mortality rate of subjects would run to 10 per cent (including non-responders, incorrect addresses and out-county mobility), thus resulting in 200 completed interviews, the actual mortality rate fell below the 10 per cent mark to about 7 per cent. Thus, 207 completed interviews were obtained, or seven above the initial minimum of 200 upon which funding estimates were computed. The interview subjects were the Negro mothers of Negro children enrolled in grades one through five. It should be noted that the decision to interview Negro mothers (rather than fathers or guardians) was made on the basis that in almost all cases it was the mother of the child who registered the child in elementary school, thus actualizing the decision. Further, much of the literature sees a matriarchal structure in the Negro community which would lead one to expect that the decision itself would be made by the child's mother rather than another member of the family. The selection of the mother also allowed us to avoid the introduction of extraneous variation into our model without having to incorporate new variables into the model and, thus, enlarging it to unwieldy proportions to handle this variation.[40] In this way, we also avoid the pitfall of Crockett's research, for example, where the child himself enters into the decision-making process, as do the affectional ties of the child to a particular school, yet without institution of proper controls or consideration. The selection of female subjects also suggested the requirement of female interviewers since many women seem wary of opening their doors to males with whom they are unacquainted and since many interviews had to be conducted during evening hours. Based on some helpful suggestions by a colleague[41] and by the research in the area,[42] it was decided to have Negro female interviewers, thus matching interviewer and subject by sex and race. An earlier idea which would have involved matching interviewer and subject by social class was rejected, since there were several changes of interviewer personnel during the course of the study and matching would have had some interviewers completing many more interviews than others, while not being as proficient. Thus, the number of interviews an interviewer was offered for her completion was based on her proficiency as demonstrated by the pretest and during the prior training sessions, as well as her knowledge of the interviewing principles expressed in the Interviewer's Handbook.[43]

## Population

It would be well to mention a few words about the population that was represented by the selected sample. The Orange County school district (which excludes the Chapel Hill school system) was selected as a sample of the 84 desegregated school districts of North Carolina as listed with the Southern Education Reporting Service in 1965. The Orange County district ranks 42nd, or one place above the median, in terms of the number of Negroes enrolled in the district's schools, and in the middle third of the 80 school districts reporting both white and Negro student enrollments.[44] As in 70 of the 80 school districts, the majority of registered students are white.[45] In 77 of the 84 districts (including our sample district), desegregation occurred voluntarily rather than by court order.[46] Examination of other records[47] for North Carolina have shown Orange County to be in the middle one-third of all North Carolina counties in terms of total population size, number of rural dwellers, and near the median in number of urban dwellers, number of families with annual incomes under $3,000, number of persons unemployed and percentage of non-whites of the total county population. Thus, conclusions drawn from the study of this district would be generalizable across many of North Carolina's desegregated school districts. It should be noted that one final reason weighed in favor of the choice of Orange County as the research site. It was reasonably accessible to interviewers, the interviewer supervisor and the principle investigator. Coupled with the high level of cooperation offered by the School Superintendent and School Board of Orange County, as well as the principals and faculties of the schools themselves, most of the pragmatic criteria pointed to this county as the most advantageous research site.

## Definition of Variables

It was necessary to propose two types of definitions for each of the variables under consideration. On the one hand it was seen as necessary to understand what the variable was defined as, on a conceptual basis, while on the other hand it was necessary to measure the variable, which was then considered to be a second definition, one on the operational level. This distinction is mentioned by Blalock[48] who suggests that two languages are needed to bridge the gap between what we "understand" to be the variable under study and how we measure that variable. Frequently, to the disservice of the social sciences, researchers have not made this distinction, and confusion often results. Each of the variables, thus, was defined first conceptually and then by reference to a particular question or set of questions from the questionnaire.

Favorable Decision: This variable was defined as the decision made by Negro parents to enroll a Negro child in a formerly all-white, now legally desegregated public elementary school. The variable was measured by the appearance on attendance lists on a formerly all-white elementary school in Orange County of the name of the Negro child of the Negro parents. Questionnaires numbered from 200 to 300 inclusive were used for these subjects, thus allowing for immediate identification by interview number. By measuring this variable in a conventional 0-1 form, we may treat this variable with interval-ration level measurement statistical procedures.

Powerlessness:[49] This variable was defined, as previously suggested by Seeman,[50] as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks." It was measured by items 40.1 through 50.2 in the questionnaire which were taken from the more complete list of items as the I-E (Internality-Externality) scale, by Rotter, et. al.[51] The scale measured the degree to which the subject felt that he himself had control over the outcomes or reinforcements he sought. A low score on the scale indicated a high level of alienation taken as powerlessness. The scale, as adapted for this study, consisted of 11 forced-choice items, scored in the internal (or non-powerlessness) direction by assigning a score of "1" for an internal response and a score of "0" for a response in the external direction. The subject's score on the scale was the summation of his scores for the individual items. Thus, a score of 11 represented a point at the extreme internal (or non-powerlessness) pole of an internal-external continuum, whereas a score of 0 indicated extreme powerlessness. For the Rotter scale, the cutting points suggested were 19 and 14; an individual scoring 19-23 is labelled "internal," while one scoring 0-14 is labelled "external." The rationale for these cutting points is not entirely clear. However, not dealing with ordinal-level measurement techniques, there are no reasons apparent why we could not deal directly with the individual scores themselves, thus forgoing the questionable practice of setting up arbitrary cutting points and dealing directly with correlations between this variable measurement and other measures of variables.

Educational Expectations: This variable was defined as the amount of education that a parent anticipated her child receiving, given all the possible conditions which might have affected the probability of a child's attending school. The variable was measured by the use of Item 25 on the questionnaire.

Perception of Positive Educational Differential: This variable was defined as the discrimination between two types of educational institutions of factors influencing the quality of education obtained or obtainable from the school. We defined the factors as "favorable" if they were perceived as culminating in an evaluation which favored the formerly all-white school and as "less favorable" to the degree that the evaluation suggested any difference to be undiscernable or favoring the formerly all-Negro school. The variable was measured by Items 26.1 through 26.5, and the scoring was considered to result in ordinal level measurement.

Valuation of Education:[52] This variable was defined as the value placed on education by the parent, in terms of the relative importance of education to her. The variable was measured by Items 22.1 through 22.6 which were taken from a 22 item Likert-type scale developed by Rundquist and Sletto.[53] The items have been used on a wide range of subjects including high school teachers, college students, members of classes for the unemployed and men on relief. Persons respond by selecting one of the five Likert-type alternatives. Scoring of items which are positive toward education were ranked from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). Higher scores indicated a positive or high value of education. In terms of reliability, a corrected split half coefficient of .83 was reported for a sample of 500 females and test-retest reliability of .85 for a sample of 750 females. Rundquist and Sletto report some evidence of concurrent validity and good content validity.

Perception of Negro Social Approval: This variable was defined as the anticipation of a discernable level of positive affect forthcoming from Negroes, contingent upon a behavior to be performed by the subject in the future. The variable was measured by Item 30 on the questionnaire.

Perception of White Social Approval: This variable was defined as the anticipation of a discernable level of positive affect forthcoming from whites, contingent upon a behavior to be performed by the subject in the future. This variable was measured by the product of the responses to Items 29 and 34.3. The result gave a measure not only of the perception of the degree of approval, but also a weighting factor of the relative importance of the source of approval as a source of approval. The same calculations were carried out for the variable "Perception of Negro Social Approval."

Valuation of Desegregation:[54] This variable was defined as the importance placed upon the process of desegregation by the parents of school children. It was measured by Items 51.1 thrugh 51.5. These items were selected from the "valuation of desegregation" scale constructed by Kelley, et. al.[55] Their 26 item scale used a Thurstone-Likert procedure, all items having Q values smaller than 1.56. The subject responds to each item on the 5 point continuum, with responses weighted from 4 (strongly agree to segregation) to 0 (strongly disagree to segregation item). The subject is scored by cumulating the endorsed weighted alternatives with higher scores indicating low tolerance of desegregation situations. Little change in the means of the samples over a three year period (as well as little change in the variances of the samples) infers scale reliability, while content validity seems at least average; and there is demonstration of approximately equal interval distribution on the 11 point scale.

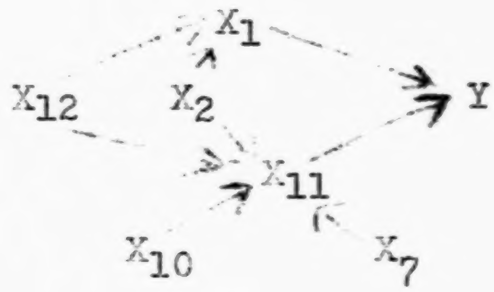
Skin Color: This variable was defined as the tendency toward dark skin pigmentation of the subject. Skin color was evaluated by the interviewer (who was instructed on determining the category into which different gradations of dark skin fell). During the interviewer training sessions, as well as the pretest situation, consistency across interviewer classifications was achieved. The categories, known to all the interviewers, are: light, medium and dark. The interviewer coded this ordinal information ("0" for "light," "1" for "medium" and "2" for "dark") in the space provided for it at the bottom of the final page of the questionnaire. The respondent was not informed of tb skin color evaluation at the time it took place.

Knowledge of the Environment: This variable was defined as the acquaintance of the subject with information and sources of information about the world in which she lives. This variable was measured by the frequency and depth of the subject's exposure to mass media (whose importance was suggested by the results of a pretest). This indicator was measured by the index constructed from Items 35.1 through 36.6 inclusive.

## Hypothesis Generation and Testing

The hypotheses tested for this report were generated after the construction of several models--convenient shorthand diagrams illustrating how a number of variables are linked to one another.[56] It should be noted that model construction implies the notion of "causality" and an ordering of the variables based upon previous research findings and/or some perceived time sequence. This researcher feels that the use of model construction as a methodological tool takes the social sciences several steps beyond the simple "A" is inversely/directly related to "B" stage of hypothesis testing in that variation can henceforth be considered as multipli-caused, rather than as a function ofthe action of only one variable upon one other variable.[57] In the present study, several models were constructed, the diagrams for which appear in Figure 1.

Model A



Model B

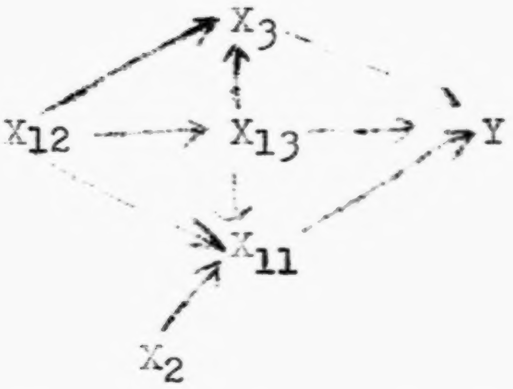


Fig. 1.--Diagrams of Proposed Models

Symbol representations are as follows:

$X_1$ represents the variable Valuation of Education
$X_2$ represents the variable Perception of Educational Facilities Differential
$X_3$ represents the variable Educational Expectations
$X_7$ represents the variable Perception of Negro Social Approval
$X_{10}$ represents the variable Perception of White Social Approval

$X_{11}$ represents the variable Valuation of Desegregation
$X_{12}$ represents the variable Knowledge of the Environment
$X_{13}$ represents the variable Powerlessness
Y represents the variable Favorable Decision, the Dependent Variable

From each of the models could be generated a series of equations, which essentially were predictions or hypotheses, given that the particular model accurately depicted the course of the relationships between the variables. Calculations for the individual equations needed to derive the predictive equations when other than zero-order correlations were used are to be found in Appendix I.

Predictions for Model A

AI $r_{X_{12}X_2} \longrightarrow 0$
AII $r_{X_{10}Y.X_{11}} \longrightarrow 0$
AIII $r_{X_7Y.X_{11}} \longrightarrow 0$
AIV $r_{X_2Y.X_1X_{11}} \longrightarrow 0$
AV $r_{X_{12}X_{10}} \longrightarrow 0$
AVI $r_{X_{12}X_7} \longrightarrow 0$
AVII $r_{X_2X_{10}} \longrightarrow 0$
AVIII $r_{X_2X_7} \longrightarrow 0$
AIX $r_{X_1X_7} \longrightarrow 0$
AX $r_{X_1X_{10}} \longrightarrow 0$
AXI $r_{X_{12}Y.X_{11}X_1} \longrightarrow 0$
AXII $r_{X_7X_{10}} \longrightarrow 0$
AXIII $r_{X_1X_{11}.X_{12}X_2} \longrightarrow 0$

Predictions for Model B

BI $r_{X_{12}X_2} \longrightarrow 0$

BII $r_{X_{12}Y.X_3X_{13}X_{11}} \longrightarrow 0$

BIII $r_{X_3X_2} \longrightarrow 0$

BIV $r_{X_{13}X_2} \longrightarrow 0$

BV $r_{X_2Y.X_{11}} \longrightarrow 0$

A correlation matrix was then obtained which involved the correlating of each variable with every other variable. The matrix appears in Appendix III. The equations for the predictions drawn from each of the models were then solved, the obtained results compared to the results which would have been obtained if the model accurately depicted the interrelationships of the variables, and the proposed model modified according to the data-specified relationship.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Before entering into a discussion of the findings, a word of explanation about the symbols and terminology used will be necessary. Each of the predictions for the two models are given in the form of either zero-order correlations or partial correlations. However, rather than using an "equals" sign to signify that there should be no relationship between the selected variables, we have chosen to use an "arrow," which will be interpretable as meaning that the relationship "approaches" zero rather than being equal to zero. Researchers in the social sciences are well aware of the many ways in which measurement error enters into scientists' attempts to examine the relationships between variables.[58] Unfortunately, although many means are used to check for error, success is elusive. Use of the "arrow" in the prediction is an acknowledgment that error in measurement will rarely allow us to obtain the complete lack of a relationship, even when the variables are not actually related. Thus, we say that as our attempts to control for extraneous sources of variation come closer to complete control, we more closely approach the ideal, i.e., in this case the lack of a relationship.

The solutions to the equations appear in Table 4.

TABLE 4

OBTAINED CORRELATIONS,
F-SCORES AND SIGNIFICANCE

| Prediction | Correlation | F-Score[a] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Model A | | |
| $r_{X_{12}X_2}$ | = .219 | F=10.25 | p .01 |
| $r_{X_{10}Y.X_{11}}$ | = .038 | F=.204 | N.S.[b] |
| $r_{X_7Y.X_{11}}$ | = .075 | F=1.224 | N.S. |
| $r_{X_2Y.X_1X_{11}}$ | = .167 | F=5.887 | p .05 |

TABLE 4--Continued

| Prediction | Correlation | F-Score[a] | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Model A | | |
| $r_{X_{12}X_{10}}$ | = -.094 | F=1.845 | N.S. |
| $r_{X_{12}X_7}$ | = -.159 | F=5.94 | $p < .05$ |
| $r_{X_2X_{10}}$ | = .076 | F=1.23 | N.S. |
| $r_{X_2X_7}$ | = -.010 | F=.021 | N.S. |
| $r_{X_1X_7}$ | = -.179 | F=6.76 | $p < .05$ |
| $r_{X_1X_{10}}$ | = .117 | F=2.87 | N.S. |
| $r_{X_{12}Y.X_{11}X_1}$ | = .196 | F=8.12 | $p < .01$ |
| $r_{X_7X_{10}}$ | = .238 | F=12.30 | $p < .001$ |
| $r_{X_1X_{11}.X_{12}X_2}$ | = .068 | F=1.015 | N.S. |
| | Model B | | |
| $r_{X_{12}X_2}$ | = .219 | F=10.250 | $p < .01$ |
| $r_{X_{12}Y.X_3X_{13}X_{11}}$ | = .059 | F=.606 | N.S. |
| $r_{X_3X_2}$ | = .209 | F=9.430 | $p < .01$ |
| $r_{X_{13}X_2}$ | = .199 | F=8.610 | $p < .01$ |
| $r_{X_2Y.X_{11}}$ | = .164 | F=5.712 | $p < .05$ |

[a] F-scores are computed in the following manner:

For correlations, 2 variables

$$F_{1,N-2} = \frac{r^2}{1-r^2}(N-2)$$

For partial correlations

$$F_{1,N-K-1} = \frac{r^2_{12.3\ldots}}{1-r^2_{12.3\ldots}} \quad (N-K-1),$$

where N = Number of subjects
K = Number of variables plus 1

[b]N.S. = a non-significant correlation

Examining the predictions for Model A, we find several changes being necessitated in the model by our findings. Our data suggests a relationship between the knowledge an individual has of his environment and his perception of an educational differential. In other words, the more aware the individual, the more likely that his awareness will extend into the realm of educational facilities and the more likely he is to perceive the existence of a differential, if it is present. One would wonder, then, why the correlation is not inflated. Should not the relationship be stronger? The answer to this question is related to the "climate of opinion" in Orange County at the time the study was conducted. As will be seen from the section entitled "Definition of the Situation," the Negroes in Orange County were involved in a protest of the means and speed of school desegregation and integration. While many of the Negroes in the county thought that schools ought to be desegregated for "race" reasons, i.e., because the black student was no less intelligent, willing or able than the white student, many other Negroes have had a pride of race awakened in them and have argued that the black schools could be as "good" as the white schools in terms of giving youngsters a quality education and, in addition, could be more relevant for black students since Negro teachers could teach Negro youths (most subjects voiced the opinion that black teachers "understood the problems of black students as well as, if not better than, white teachers"). Therefore, consistent conditions in the local community inconsistently affected the responses that were made by the subjects. It is interesting to note this apparent contradiction since it is not restricted to one segment of the rural south. All across this country a new pride in their race is being awakened in black people. One can see this pride manifested in the "Black is Beautiful" slogans or the revived interest in black culture, black history and black traditions extending back into the "dark" continent, Africa. Some black leaders seem to distinguish between "blacks," i.e., those individuals who are perceived to define themselves in relation to their black cultural heritage, values and physical characteristics, and "Negroes," i.e., those blacks who accept the white definition of the Negro as their self-definition. This "negative" self-definition, some black leaders would say, conceives of "natural" skin color or hair texture as being inferior to that of the white and involves the application of preparations to straighten hair or lighten the skin color. It would appear that there is a segment of the black community that would reject the goal of integration, if integration were defined as the loss of a recently found heritage. The new black man, then, wishes to maintain his separate identity while immersing himself in the "melting pot" of America. Thus, a difference between schools in terms of the facilities they possess may be readily visible, as might be the case with the white and the black schools in Orange County. But some black people see the black schools as "their" schools where young black people can be taught to "know themselves for what they are." From his talks with some of the community leaders, the researcher has learned that the predominant feeling of these leaders, whether articulately or inarticulately expressed, is that the goal of integration involves the meeting and melding of two equal parts. These black leaders feel that integration cannot be brought about until the white man considers the black man as his equal and until the black man sees himself as the equal of the white man. The contradiction seems to be that "some saw that which was, while others saw that which might be."

The proposed Model A satisfactorily generates the next two predictions regarding social approval and the favorable decision. The equations suggested that there was no relationship between $X_{10}$, the perception of white social approval, and Y, the favorable decision, or between $X_7$, the perception of Negro social approval and Y, the favorable decision, except as $X_{10}$ and $X_7$ are mediated through $X_{11}$, the valuation of desegregation. We are saying, then, that no matter what the perceived sources of approval, a favorable decision will not take place unless desegregation resulting in daily social contact with whites either is a goal of the parent for the child or unless the parent sees value in the consequences of desegregation. It should be noted that the initial correlations between white social approval and the favorable decision and between Negro social approval and favorable decision, before the effects of the individual's valuation of desegregation were partialed out, were .007 and -.208, respectively. The inverse correlation between Negro social approval and the favorable decision would, if considered no further and in isolation from previous research findings, suggest that as perceived white social approval tends to increase, there would be a decrease in the probability of a favorable decision being made, a relationship which does not prove out either statistically or theoretically.

In equation four, the stronger relationship indicated by our calculations than we would have been led to believe existed by our model calls for a data-based change of the model. Our findings tell us first that if we control for the effects of both the valuation of education and the valuation of desegregation we reduce the correlation between the favorable decision and the perception of an educational differential. However, the relationship is not reduced, not to the degree that would be needed in order to say that there is no significant relationship between the perception of an educational differential and the probability of a favorable decision, other than that relationship produced as a "side" effect of the relationship between the perception of a facilities differential and the two "valuations." We, therefore, must make explicit a strong "independent" relationship between the arrival at a favorable decision and the perception of an educational differential. We are saying that an important factor entering into the choice of a school for many parents is the perception of qualitative and quantitative differences in schools. In many southern schools the differences in physical plants are not likely to be unfavorable to the Negro since the earliest attempts to circumvent the 1954 Supreme Court decision seem to have been involved in building programs for new schools for Negroes so that school administrators might point to "newer" schools for Negroes as exemplifying an equal or Negro-favored separation of schools by race. Even with this out-pouring of funds for the education of Negroes, figures on the per-pupil expenditure continued to illustrate higher expenditures for white students than for black students. Unfortunately, the physical plants did not contain adequate heating plants, or lacked sufficient texts, library facilities and/or qualified teaching personnel. This "lack" was often the result of an attempt to maintain two racially distinct units while having access to rather limited funds. Thus, the differential that parents were asked about on the questionnaire specified the consideration of "such things as having good teachers, enough supplies, enough books... and other things that you feel are important for getting a good education," before responding. It can be assumed, then, that these differences in the abilities of the schools to provide an education, rather than differences in the size, newness or beauty of the physical plant, were determinants of the evaluation of degree of differences in schools. Second, the hypothesized relationship between the perception of an educational facilities differential and the valuation of education failed to materialize. It seems, then, that values may be held with or without the means to achieve them. Values are seen more as a function of socializing agents and agencies than they are of access to the consequences of the values held. Thus, recognition of a disparity in educational facilities, whether favorable or unfavorable, will not affect the valuation ofeducation as such, although it may perhaps affect the potentiality for achievement of the consequence of the highly or lowly valued end.

The model predicts that there will be no relationship between the perception of white social approval and the knowledge one has of his environment. Given that we have suggested knowledge of the environment as the independent variable, we may not assume that knowing one's environment enables one to more readily perceive white social approval for enrolling a child in a desegregated school, since this particular sphere of the environment may not come under the realm of the knowledge of the individual and since one's perceptions may be the result, not only of the reality of a situation, but also a result of the desired reality. Thus, white social approval may be seen not only as overt approval, but also as a covert form of approval, i.e., a white noncommittal attitude. Non-committedness is ambiguous enough to be interpreted as either approval or disapproval and would then be interpretable as a function of other experiences, knowledge and, especially, desires and not solely, or even in part, as a function of the individual's knowledge of the environment.

The relationship between the subject's knowledge of the environment and Negro social approval, however, differs from that suggested by the proposed model. We are led to conclude that the more knowledgeable about his environment, the less likely the subject is to perceive social approval from the Negro community. Since the relationship is an inverse one and since a positive relationship was posited between perception of Negro social approval and valuation of desegregation, we are led to suspect that our hypothesized positive relationship is, in fact, negative. Our results yield a correlation (between $X_{11}$ and $X_7$) of -.29, a correlation significant at .001 ($F=18.45$). Thus, we are suggesting that the greater the knowledge of his environment, the more likely the individual is to not find favor among Negroes for engaging in school desegregation behaviors. Several diverse explanations seem to present themselves. One is the self-protective device of maintaining the status quo. Negroes may maintain stereotypical behavior to satisfy whites who, unstirred, will not act, thus maintaining for the Negro a semblance of security and freedom from possible attack. Another explanation might be found in the rising militance of the black man. Any acceptance of desegregation "on white terms" would be seen as demeaning. "White terms" in Orange County would be taken as engaging in desegregation of white schools with no reciprocal desegregation and integration of black schools. Thus, two distinctive and somewhat contradictory explanations for the same phenomena present themselves. Having spent time in the county, the researcher feels that both explanations are relevant to this population, although the past history of the county gives heavy favor to the former explanation.

The two predictions involving the perception of an educational facilities differential and the relationship to the perception of either white or Negro social approval were borne out by the data. No relationship was predicted and none was found. It was felt that perceived community approval for desegregation behaviors, be that source the white community or the Negro community, would have no effect on the perception of a difference between educational facilities, since the perception of a differential depends more upon experiences in and knowledge of the particular environment, and not upon the favorability or unfavorability of the result of staffing this educational structure with lower-level participants. And, as has been shown previously, there is, indeed, a positive relationship between knowledge of the environment and the perception of an educational facilities differential. Many whites in the Orange County area, when asked, will unhesitatingly declare the existence of a differential in favor of the white schools. Many of these same individuals will voice objections to school integration. Negroes, for the most part, know this, and it perhaps explains why, although the correlation was in the predicted direction (positive) and the predicted strength (not significant), it was a relatively higher non-significant correlation than that between perception of an educational facilities differential and perception of white social approval.

An unanticipated relationship that was obtained was the inverse one between the perception of Negro social approval and the valuation of education. Also unanticipated was the low correlation (.023) between knowledge of the environment and the valuation of education. This can be explained by revising the model to suggest that valuation of education is related to the favorable decision, independent of any relationship that knowledge of the environment has with the favorable decision. The relationship that valuation of education has with knowledge of the environment is a secondary one through an inverse relationship with Negro social approval. The relationship could then be explained by noting that the subject's knowledge of the environment would present him with an unfavorable view of the desegregation procedures as now being carried out by the Orange County school board (see "Definition of the Situation"). It was noted that there was a high correlation between the parent's valuation of education and her decision to enroll the child in a formerly white school. As this researcher can interpret this finding, the more highly education was valued, the less important was the factor of Negro social approval, and subjective rationalization gave way to the objective evaluation of the disapproval of the Negro community for desegregation as it was then being instituted. The relationship between white social approval and valuation of education was not found to be a significant relationship, as was correctly postulated by the model.

The relationship between knowledge of the environment and the favorable decision was found to be a significant one, even after partialing out the effects of valuation of education and valuation of desegregation. It should be noted that, as one of the tests of Model B, the same variables were tested for a relationship, this time omitting control of valuation of education. Controlling for both "valuations" gave a partial correlation of .196, significant at .05. Controlling for valuation of desegregation only resulted in a partial correlation of .164, significant at .05. The difference between correlations was not significant. But, in both cases, the relationship was reduced from a correlation of .349, a significant reduction. The data thus tells us that there is a direct relationship between the two variables (knowledge of the environment and favorable decision), as well as an indirect one, through $X_{11}$, valuation of desegregation. In other words, not only does a knowledge of the environment weigh heavily in the probability of a favorable decision, but also this knowledge tends to affect the individual's valuation of desegregation which is correlated with the favorable decision.

The relationship between perception of Negro social approval and perception of white social approval is significant, although contrary to the prediction our model would make. However, it should be noted that the correlation between white social approval and valuation of desegregation, while not significant (contrary to the model again) is in an inverse direction which is consistent with the interrelationship between Negro social approval and valuation of desegregation, as well as the relationship between perception of white social approval and perception of Negro social approval. Given the difficulty in determining a time sequence between perception of Negro or white social approval, i.e., our inability to locate which variable had the initial effect upon the other (although knowing the history of the county, we would suggest that Negro social approval is a function of the perception of white social approval), we will indicate our hesitancy with the introduction of a double-headed arrow, signifying feedback effects between the two variables.

Our final prediction follows the form indicated by the model. Partialing out the variation effect of knowledge of the environment, as well as the effects of the perception of an educational facilities differential, leaves only an insignificant correlation between valuation of education and valuation of desegregation, although it should be pointed out that the relationship was negligible at the start. In fact, the correlation before effects were partialled out was .075 and after effects were partialled out was .068. Further, previous mention has been made in the discussion of the eleventh equation of the small effect of the variable valuation of education.

The new Model A, as modified by the results above, is seen in Figure 2.

Examining Model B, we find that equations BI and BV have already been dealt with under Model A. The results of the calculations of equation BII prove to be nonsignificant, as was suggested by the model. We can then say that the relationship between knowledge of the environment and the favorable decision is mediated by the combined effects of educational expectations and feelings of non-powerlessness.

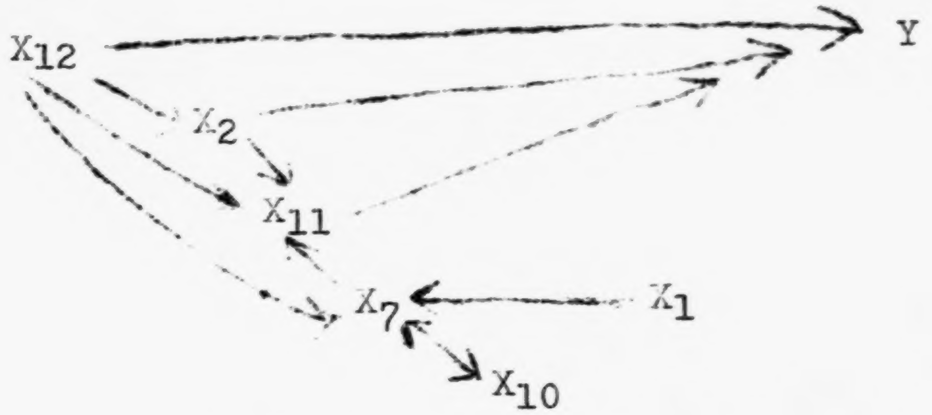


Fig. 2.--Revised Model A

If we attempt to compute the correlation between knowledge of the environment and the favorable decision, partialing out the effects of either educational expectations or feelings of non-powerlessness, we find that in neither case can we reduce the correlation between knowledge of the environment and the favorable decision to one of non-significance ($r_{X_{12}Y.X_{13}} = .186$, F=7.140, $p < .01$; $r_{X_{12}Y.X_3} = .177$, F=6.324, $p < .05$). However, the two variables acting in concert reduce the correlation from .349 to .080 ($r_{X_{12}Y.X_3X_{13}} = .080$, F=1.218, N.S.), while the addition of the variable valuation of desegregation decreases the correlation only by an additional .021. This is, indeed, a significant finding, especially as it pertains to a modification of the direct relationship we spoke of in discussing Model A. The finding tells us that knowledge of the environment itself is not a causative factor in the reaching of a favorable decision, but rather that an increase in the knowledge of the environment will result in an increase in both non-powerlessness and educational expectations which are more directly related to the favorable decision. Thus, in one instance, the parent, having more information about the environment, feels more confident in being able to manipulate factors in the environment for her own purposes and will be more likely to feel that she has the opportunity to make a favorable decision. In the other instance, a knowledge of the environment opens up additional alternatives for action which enables educational expectations to be perceived as being attainable through the choice of the favorable decision. If these factors are not dependent upon a knowledge of the environment, then we would expect to find rather low correlations between the factors and knowledge of the environment. An examination of the correlation matrix in Appendix III shows a correlation between knowledge of the environment ($X_{12}$) and educational expectations ($X_3$) of .477 and a correlation between knowledge of the environment and non-powerlessness ($X_{13}$) of .546. Thus, changes are indicated by a revised Model B which would be well considered in the attempt to fuse the models into a larger combined model. In terms of the relationship between non-powerlessness and educational expectations, it is suggested that non-powerlessness affects expectations, while expectations are considered toact more as a resultant than as a causative agent.

If the role of non-powerlessness as now perceived is correct, then the relationship between educational expectations and the perception of an educational facilities differential should be a spurious one, both variables being "caused" by feelings of non-powerlessness. The initial correlation between these two variables was found to be .209 ($F=9.430$, $p < .01$). When the effects of non-powerlessness are partialled out, the correlation becomes .138, barely (but as now predicted) non-significant at .05 ($F=3.876$). And the next prediction, that between non-powerlessness and perception of an educational facilities differential thus becomes incorrect since we now can see that there is a relationship between the two variables ($r_{X_{13}X_2} = .199$, $F=8.610$, $p < .01$).

The new Model B, then, comes to look as the diagram presented in Figure 3.

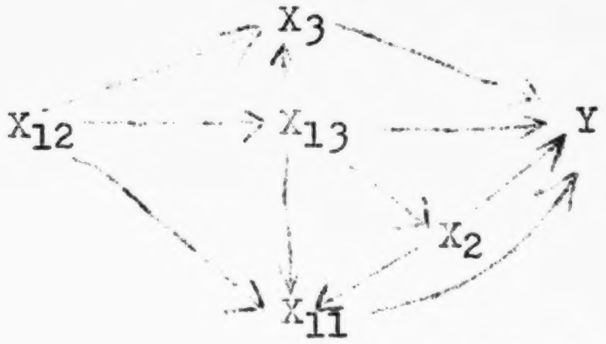


Fig. 3--Revised Model B

Taking our procedure one step further, we might fuse the two models coming up with a more powerful model to explain the favorable decision. Figure 4 contains the combination variable. Future researchers might do well to test this model and develop it further.

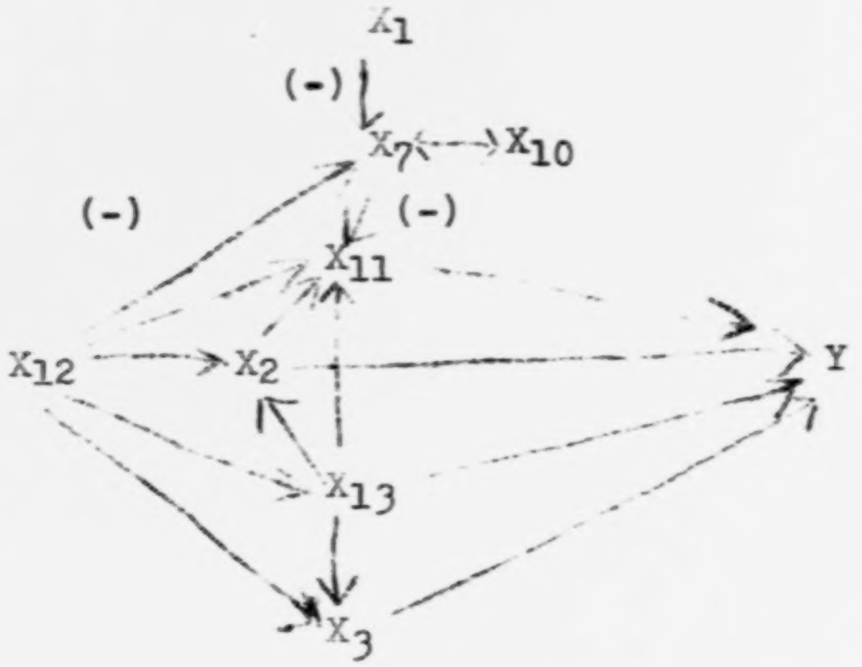


Fig. 4--Combination of Models A and B

Before beginning the concluding section of this paper, it was thought necessary to describe the emotional climate of Orange County at the time the research was taking place. Although not subjectable to statistical analysis, the section entitled "Definition of the Situation" will present the reader with an understanding of the conditions in which this study took place and describes in microcosm what is occurring between the Negro and white communities all over the country.

## Definition of the Situation

Interviewers for this study were in Orange County from March, 1968, to August, 1968. During this period of time, many changes occurred within the community as pertaining to its activity in equality-directed protest.

Early in February of 1968, the Board of Education filed a proposal for the eventual desegregation of the Orange County schools, based on the proposed plan presented by Dr. Walter S. Warfield. This plan called for the immediate assignment of the 10th or 11th grade from Central High (the Negro school) to Orange High (the white school), the eventual consolidation of all junior high grades into one physical plant and the division of elementary schools accommodating either grades kindergarten through three or grades four through six. The latter two steps were to take place over a period of two years culminating in the eventual elimination of a dual school structure. It should be noted that the school board members were not entirely satisfied with this plan or its implementation schedule. The general feeling of the board, however, was that integration "could not be put off much longer" and that some plan would eventually be required. Reported in the local newspaper, The News of Orange County, the plan was noted by all members of the community, black and white. It was at this time that members of the black community initiated and began to circulate a petition calling for the immediate (beginning the following September) integration of the final three grades of high school (tenth, eleventh and twelfth). Although it was not possible to discover the names of the persons initiating the petition, it was found that they were parents of high school students who cited hopes for "higher education" and "quality education" as their reasons for the initiation of the petition. Within a short time, approximately 546 black parents had signed the petition, despite the fact that the Orange County black community had never been noted for its racial militance. In fact, there had never been so much as a march protesting disrimination, and no organized civil rights group held meetings in Orange County.

The petition, according to leaders in the black community, was presented to the Board of Education at its April meeting and rejected out of hand. Later, its very existence was either ignored or not mentioned by the Board. The high school students, at this time, had been meeting since the end of February, having decided to take a course of action separate from that of their parents. The students' goal at that time had been to obtain complete desegregation of the Orange County schools by the fall of 1968. Suggested means of achieving the goal had ranged from outright violence and campaigns of terror to non-violent school boycotts and peaceful marches. Upon the rejection of the parents' petition, student planning escalated, and the choice of a school boycott was made as the appropriate response to the perceived inaction of the school board on the matter of integration. On Monday, May 20, at 9 a.m., the students acted, walking out of their classes and beginning the first black protest of segregation ever to occur in Orange County.

The boycott caught the white community by surprise, soon turning to shock. Wherever one walked, he could hear the voices of the white townspeople: "*They're* starting trouble!" "It's professional agitators that are causing this!" "Communists!" "I don't want my kids going to schools with niggers!" "They're getting too smart for their own good!" The local post-mistress expressed the sentiments of many when she accused "isolated segments of the colored community for this trouble. Some of these colored people are like my best friends," she continued, "and I am sure that they themselves are ashamed at how these few troublemakers are acting. Why, *all* decent colored people in this town are ashamed of the way they're acting!" In the black community, feeling was running high in favor of the boycott. "We never had the guts these kids today seem to have," one middle-aged Negro was heard to say. However, the students continued to keep their own council, and while several adults did offer advice from time to time, decision-making was in the hands of the students. Being inexperienced in effective organization, however, they did ask a young Negro leader of the nearby Durham community, Howard Fuller (at this time employed as a lecturer by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill on Community Organization), for occasional suggestions on the conduct and control of the boycott. The appearance of Fuller on the scene resulted in the increased accusation of "outside agitation" since Fuller was a well-known local militant.

The local newspaper condemned the boycott and harranged the board to maintain its "no-change" policy.[59] "We simply had a few, outside frustrated adults looking for new fields in which to stir unrest, and then picking upon children to carry the ball...the marches were too well planned so as to have come only from the minds of pupils. It was all too exact, too much patterned like college and adult disorders elsewhere." (The leader of the Black Student Movement at the University had been approached as a source of advice, but had been involved with examinations and could not lend any more than moral support.) "...Peace had existed between races in Orange County, that no controversy had embroiled Hillsborough, because all peoples had been able to talk together and iron out difficulties. We still maintain ours is a peaceful and harmonious place in which to live IF OUTSIDERS stay out." "They (ed: the pupils) were being used as dupes by racial radicals who had to turn somewhere to regain attention." "Due credit must be given the school board for sticking by its guns and refusing to suffer dictates from anyone except a higher authority."

"We did not agree, initially, with the actions of Mayor Fred Cates and his 'belated' then short-lived curfew. We could not see the executive sessions on the part of the school board." The "marches" referred to occurred on the second and third days of the boycott when the students walked from Central High School to the town hall, located at the center of the town. For several hours they marched around the town hall where the school board was meeting in executive session. That evening, a frightened mayor and town board met and passed an ordinance prohibiting marches unless declared at least 24 hours in advance and unless a bond was posted by the planning committee of the march. The school superintendent suspended classes at the boycotted Negro school until such time as "as many as one-half of the students of Central High School are willing to return to class and resume their studies." During the course of that week, the school board met several times with student leaders, at first treating their demands humorously, finally rejecting them altogether. During one post-meeting huddle, one of the student leaders, expressing frustration, kicked at one of the school desks. Several of the other students then kicked the desks, but ceased at the request of one of their number.[60] Word soon spread around town that the "students were destroying the school," and a local newspaper[61] was later to read: "Riot-equipped police, Highway Patrol troopers and sheriff's deputies swarmed around the high school after students began throwing desks and chairs in the school gym and library. Officers remained on duty for several hours after the disturbance, but no further incidents occurred. There were no injuries and no arrests."

At the start of the boycott, the parents of the children, along with other members of the Negro community, had expressed concern at a meeting held at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church to discuss the situation. The decision was made to form a ten person negotiating committee to meet with the board. Effectively, this action took total decision-making and negotiating power out of the hands of the students and put it into the hands of the suddenly concerned black community. The committee, whose formation had been promoted by the president of Southeastern Business College President David W. Stith, included several of the student leaders. Meeting with the school board, the committee finally agreed upon a solution to the problem. The solution arrived at was to allow any tenth, eleventh and twelfth grade black students to transfer to the white high school with the filling out of a freedom-of-choice form for the following semester in

September. No white students were to be transferred to the Negro school (an issue raised by the students but, in effect, conceded by the black negotiating team) and integration was to remain "one way," i.e., from black school to white school. The result would be the eventual closing of the Negro school in the district since the school board's schedule for integration was keyed to that of the building of additions to the white schools. On Friday, the students returned to their classrooms and the school boycott was at an end.

Although few of the original aims of the boycott had been achieved, a precedent of protest had been set, and the Negro community would not be quite the same as it had been. Perhaps the most concise analysis of the boycott appeared in the editorial column of the Friday edition of the Charlotte Observer, a highly respected North Carolina newspaper:

> In the usual tradition of Hillsborough, county seat of Orange, the school board was making haste slowly on federal directions to end school segregation. In an astonishing break with the docile attitudes of Negroes in the area, Negro students demonstrated for almost instant action.
>
> With no desire of its own to hurry into total integration and with little effective pressure for speed from outside sources, the school board had geared desegregation to the construction schedule of new classrooms at Orange County's white high school
>
> This construction would allow space for integration to proceed only through the 10th grade next year with complete integration to follow for the remaining grades in the 1969-70 school year. Confirmed in this plan and, perhaps more important, confirmed in a tradition of not paying much attention to Negro demands, white county leaders got their backs up when the students started marching.
>
> A protest which by all accounts was a model of peacefulness in these times drew a reaction that at one point seemed on the verge of introducing armed troops into the shady streets of Hillsborough. Later on, there was unruly student conduct in the school. The

situation was well on its way to precipitating a showdown threatening to the educational interests of all.

Fortunately, Orange officials overcame their traditional unresponsiveness and tried to meet the reasonable demands of the demonstrators...For now, at least, the county's white officials have shown they can work in good faith with concerned Negroes...

# CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps the most difficult section of a report to write is the one dealing with conclusions. It is in this section that the researcher must decide exactly how widely he will generalize, using his data, from the sample to other populations which may be similar to or different from the sampled population. Because of the importance of this topic for policy decisions and the implementation of the law of the land, this researcher will generalize more widely than rigid scientific cannon would ordinarily suggest.

This report first addressed itself to the task of describing differences between those mothers who had enrolled their children in formerly all white schools and those mothers who had enrolled their children in formerly all black schools. The most important singular differences, not unrelated, seem to be in the knowledge or familiarity the parent has with the environment, the educational expectations of the parent and her feelings of powerlessness. By the idea of powerlessness, we mean the feeling that the individual has (or lacks) of being able to control aspects of his environment. Powerlessness has been shown to be a function of the degree of knowledge one has about his environment. The individual who has a higher degree of knowledge about his environment can determine which alternatives for action are open to him and knows the consequences of the alternatives. This individual is more likly to feel a degree of control over which alternatives he may choose and which ones he rejects. The choice of alternatives is also tied to the value system of the individual. Although we have dealt only in passing with the values held by the individual, it is apparent that a low valuation of desegregation will negate, to an extent, the probability that the parent will select a formerly white school in which to enroll a child. The individual's value system also enters into the probability of a favorable decision in terms of the level of education the parent expects the child to attain. Education, and here we mean essentially a "good" or a "quality" education, is one of the major determinants of what occupations will be open to the individual and what life style he will ultimately enjoy. If we may assume that parents continually aspire for their children, then education will continue to be the means seen by parents for children to become upwardly mobile. Therefore, we should not be surprised to find that parents will expect the child to attain a higher level and quality of education than they themselves experienced. What, then, are the factors which will hinder these ambitions of parents for children?

In Orange County, and among many Negro communities today, there seems to be a high level of suspicion in terms of the actual degree of accessibility to choice that an individual enjoys. In speaking to Negroes in Orange County, one continually "senses" the disbelief in the openness of free-choice plans. Whether accurately or inaccurately, they seem to feel that "freedom-of-choice does not apply" to them, that others may choose, but not them. This distrust is a function of decades of individual and group experience passed down from one generation to the next, from one family to another, with repressive, white-controlled institutions. As one Negro explained, "The man gives with one hand and takes with the other." Until black people see black people active in decision-making roles in the community, until black people are permitted to exercise choice of alternative behaviors without negative consequences being perceived as inevitably forthcoming from white-controlled institutions, black parents will continue to hesitate to allow their children to engage in the day-to-day contact with white children in desegregated schools.

In terms of proposals for action, it should be realized that this research was not constructed so as to generate programs. However, several sources of disparagement to black people will need to be eliminated before people will allow their children to enroll in white schools in large numbers. One point of irritation seems to be the "direction" of integration. Black people seem to feel that white children should be allowed into desegregated black schools. They suggest that desegregation,"like most other things, always seems to have to be done so as not to inconvenience the whites." While a large urban area, residentially segregated, may not permit the easiest of access to black schools of white students from the white areas, the problem of residential segregation does not occur meaningfully in the compact small town with relatively contiguous housing. It would not require mass changes in the transportation system of most southern school districts to integrate both black and white schools, via "bussing" programs.

A further problem is introduced by the rising militance of black communities around the country. Blacks are beginning to demand that black schools be maintained for the benefit of black students and that the quality of black schools be upgraded to that of white schools. It is felt by some black people that the black schools are the reservoirs of all that is desirable of black culture in America. They feel that black teachers are, could and would be more sympathetic to the problems of the black student. These black people feel that black history, black social science--in sum, "black culture"--can most efficiently and "best" be taught at the black school. Whether there is any truth to these ideas (and this writer would suggest that black curricula might be made available in the white schools where it might serve a wider public), it seems incumbent on the government to clarify to all, black and white, that the law of the land specifies the destruction of the dual educational system. A black public school is undesirable, from the point of view of the law, whether it is recommended by a resegregating black man or an unreconstructed white man. If the black community feels the need for additional education in black culture and black history, supplementing a revised "white" curriculum, then the black community might be encouraged in setting up supplementary education units to be conducted several days a week, both for the cultural enrichment of the student and as an aid in his development as a self-sufficient, knowledgeable human being. The funding of a school such as this might be accomplished with federal funds, on a participating basis with the community, being paid directly to the local black community organization. In such a way active participation could be fostered in the black community with no detriment to the white community. Because of the relative uniqueness of a plan for supplemental schooling supported by black community organizations and the federal government, we should not reject, out of hand, any attempts to rectify the history of black subordination in America. "Past error is no excuse for its own perpetuation."[32]

# FOOTNOTES

[1] Although Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka *et al.* (1954) is often cited as *the* desegregation decision, it may be perceived more accurately as an historical watershed, the culmination of decisions in the area of educational desegregation such as Pearson vs. Murray (1936), Missouri ex.rel. Gaines vs. Canada (1938), Sipuel vs. Oklahoma Board of Education (1948), Sweatt vs. Painter (1950), McLaurin vs. Oklahoma Board of Regents (1950) and a series of state university decisions such as McKessick vs. Carmichael (1952), one which involved the University of North Carolina, for example. The Brown case, the vehicle for the NAACP post-war legal attack against educational discrimination, involved four different state law suits (South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware and Kansas) as well as the Bolling vs. Sharpe suit of Washington D. C. This latter suit was ultimately withdrawn, later to be submitted for a separate decision under the Fifth rather than the Fourteenth amendment. The writer here acknowledges his debt to Dr. Guy B. Johnson for much background information concerning the history of Supreme Court decisions and the Negro. Also, see Albert P. Blaustein and Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr., *Desegregation and the Law* (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 39-53.

[2] Blaustein and Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[3] One need only examine some of the more recently compiled bibliographies to note the huge quantity of materials published since 1955. See, for example, Thomas F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American* (Princeton, N. J.: Van Nostrand, 1964) or Elizabeth W. Miller, *The Negro in America: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966).

[4] The distinction between "avoidance," which is a legally guaranteed privilege and "evasion," which is against the law and subject to punishment is made by Blaustein and Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Irwin Katz, "Research on Public School Desegregation," *Integrated Education*, August/September, 1966.

[7] See Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt* (New York: Harper and Towe, 1962).

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] James Coleman *et al.*, *Equality and Educational Opportunity* (Washington: U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity).

[10] This view sees decision-making as a form of rational judgment based on an evaluation of rewards obtained as the result of subtracting costs (including alternatives forgone) from rewards. See John Thibaut and Harold Kelley, *The Social Psychology of Groups* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959).

[11] One is reminded of W. I. Thomas' well-known theorem, "If men define situations as real they are real in their consequences." See Nicholas Timasheff, *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 151.

[12] The two elementary schools which were attended by both white and black students were Cameron Park and Aycock.

[13] George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, Third Edition (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 29.

[14] This definition is a modification of the definition suggested by M. Richard Cramer in a personal communication.

[15] Harry Crockett, Jr., "A Study of Some Factors Affecting the Decision of Negro High Schools, 1955," *Social Forces* (May, 1957), pp. 351-356.

[16] Eugene A. Weinstein and Paul N. Geisel, "Family Decision-Making over Desegregation," *Sociometry*, 25 (March, 1962), pp. 21-29.

[17] "Favorable" decision is taken to mean a decision made by a Negro parent to enroll a child or children in a formerly all-white, now desegregated school.

[18] Gerhart Saenger, "The First Year of the Open Enrollment Program: A Pilot Study," *Report to the Commission on Intergroup Relations* (New York: New York University, June, 1961). Mimeographed.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Student delivery of explanatory slips seems an inefficient means of "educating" parents about a program. One also wonders whether the topic was discussed in any of the mass media.

[22] Laurence T. Cagle and Jerome Beker, "A Comparison of the Social Characteristics and Educational Aspirations of Northern, Lower Class, Negro Parents who Accepted and Declined an Opportunity for Integrated Education for their Children" (Syracuse: Syracuse University Youth Development Center, August, 1967). Mimeographed.

[23] Elmer Luchterhand and Leonard Weller, "Social Class and the Desegregation Movement: A Study of Parents' Decisions in a Negro Ghetto," *Social Problems*, 13 (Summer, 1965), pp. 83-88.

[24] James Killian, *The Impossible Revolution?* (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 40-64.

[25] Kurt H. Wolff, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), p. 261.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] See Louis Worth in Ralph Linton (Ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 347.

[29] Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Northern Segregation* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1943).

[30] Seymour Parker and Robert Kleiner, "Status Position, Mobility and Ethnic Identification of the Negro," *Journal of Social Issues*, XX (April, 1964), pp. 85-102.

[31] George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961).

[32] Hylan Lewis, *Blackways of Kent* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p. 224.

[33] E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Middle Class and Desegregation," Social Problems, 4 (April, 1954), pp. 291-301.

[34] William H. Sewell, et al., "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73.

[35] Kleiner and Parker, op. cit.

[36] Robert R. Bell, "Lower Class Negro Mothers' Aspirations for their Children," Social Forces, 43 (May, 1965), pp. 493-500.

[37] Frank R. Westie and David H. Howard, "Social Status Differential and the Race Attitudes of Negroes," American Sociological Review, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 584-591.

[38] Tilman C. Cothran, "Negro Conceptions of White People," American Journal of Sociology, LVI (March, 1957), pp. 458-467.

[39] While the pretest can be considered as a "fishing expedition," one could in no sense refer to the final study in the same manner. The author agrees with the thoughts expressed by Sidney Siegel: "Exploration is a proper purpose of pilot studies...but a formal experiment ought not to be undertaken until an hypothesis has been derived from an explicit theory about the phenomina to be observed and until the experiment has been designed to provide a clear and unambiguous result relevant to that hypothesis." In Samuel Messick and Arthur Brayfield, Exploratory Studies: Decision and Choice (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 17.

[40] H. M. Blalock, in a personal communication, has suggested working with models of 3 and 4 variables for the purposes of handling ease and formulation and solution of regression equations.

[41] My thanks to J. Allen Williams for this advice.

[42] See K. R. Athey, et al., "Two Experiments Showing the Effect of the Interviewer's Background on Response to Questionnaires Concerning Racial Issues," Journal of Applied Psychology, 44 (1960), pp. 244-246.

[43] See Appendix V.

[44] Statistical Summary of School Segregation, Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, Southern Educational Reporting Service, 1965.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Michael P. Brooks, The Dimensions of Poverty in North Carolina (Durham: The North Carolina Fund, 1964), Monograph No. 1. The data in this monograph is adapted from:

a. U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of the Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, North Carolina

b. U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1962

c. Economic Summary of North Carolina, a mimeographed report by the Bureau of Employment Research, Employment Security Commission of North Carolina, August, 1963

[48] Personal communication to the author. I am indebted to Dr. Blalock for an opportunity to examine his forthcoming text dealing with theory building.

[49] "Powerlessness" was taken here as the relevant dimension of anomie, as the dimensions are labeled by Srole. See Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," 21, American Sociological Review, pp. 709-716.

[50] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 783-789.

[51] Julian B. Rotter, Melvin Seeman and S. Liverant, "Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement: A Major Variable in Behavior Theory," in N. F. Washburne (ed.), Decisions, Values and Groups (London: Pergamon Press, 1962), pp. 473-516.

[52] See Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), pp. 233-34.

[53] E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, Personality in the Depression (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936).

[54] Shaw and Wright, op. cit., pp. 172-3.

[55] J. G. Kelley, J. E. Ferson and W. H. Holtzman, "The Measurement of Attitudes Toward the Negro in the South," Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 48, pp. 305-317.

[56] See forthcoming untitled work by Hubert M. Blalock on theory building.

[57] See James A. Wiggins, "Valid Inference and Experimental Laboratory Methods," in H. M. Blalock and Ann Blalock, Methodology in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).

[58] Ibid.

[59] See The News of Orange County, May 23, 1968, p. 4.

[60] The researcher would here note that the source of his information on this point was deeply involved in the boycott committee and, therefore, although ordinarily an unbiased source, might have been presenting a slightly distorted viewpoint. No validation was obtainable.

[61] The News of Orange County, op. cit., p. 1.

[62] From a speech by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

# APPENDIX I

## Calculations for Predictions of Models

Model A

Calculation for Prediction AII: $r_{X_{10}Y.X_{11}} = 0$

AII The formula for $r_{X_{10}Y.X_{11}}$ is:

$$\frac{r_{X_{10}Y} - r_{X_{10}X_{11}} r_{YX_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{10}X_{11}}} \sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{11}}}}$$

Calculation for Prediction AIII: $r_{X_7Y.X_{11}} = 0$

AIII The formula for $r_{X_7Y.X_{11}}$ is:

$$\frac{r_{X_7Y} - r_{X_7X_{11}} r_{YX_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_7X_{11}}} \sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{11}}}}$$

Calculation for Prediction AIV: $r_{X_2Y.X_1X_{11}} = 0$

AIV The formula for $r_{X_2Y.X_1X_{11}}$ is:

$$\frac{r_{X_2Y.X_1} - r_{X_2X_{11}.X_1} r_{YX_{11}.X_1}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_2X_{11}.X_1}} \sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{11}.X_1}}}$$

The three partial correlations needed are:

AIV.1 $r_{X_2Y.X_1} = \frac{r_{X_2Y} - r_{X_2X_1} r_{YX_1}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_2X_1}} \sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_1}}}$

AIV.2 $r_{X_2X_{11}.X_1} = \frac{r_{X_2X_{11}} - r_{X_2X_1} r_{X_{11}X_1}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_2X_1}} \sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_1}}}$

AIV.3 $r_{YX_{11}.X_1} = \dfrac{r_{YX_{11}} - r_{YX_1}\, r_{X_{11}X_1}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_1}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_1}}}$

Calculation for Prediction AXI: $r_{X_{12}Y.X_{11}X_1} = 0$

AXI The formula for $r_{X_{12}Y.X_{11}X_1}$ is:

$$\frac{r_{X_{12}Y.X_{11}} - r_{X_{12}X_1.X_{11}}\, r_{YX_1.X_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_1.X_{11}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_1.X_{11}}}}$$

The three partial correlations needed are:

AXI.1 $r_{X_{12}Y.X_{11}} = \dfrac{r_{X_{12}Y} - r_{X_{12}X_{11}}\, r_{YX_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_{11}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{11}}}}$

AXI.2 $r_{X_{12}X_1.X_{11}} = \dfrac{r_{X_{12}X_1} - r_{X_{12}X_{11}}\, r_{X_1X_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_{11}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_1X_{11}}}}$

AXI.3 $r_{YX_1.X_{11}} = \dfrac{r_{YX_1} - r_{YX_{11}}\, r_{X_1X_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{11}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_1X_{11}}}}$

Calculation for Prediction AXIII: $r_{X_1X_{11}.X_{12}X_2} = 0$

AXIII The formula for $r_{X_1X_{11}.X_{12}X_2}$ is:

$$\frac{r_{X_1X_{11}.X_{11}} - r_{X_1X_2.X_{12}}\, r_{X_{11}X_2.X_{12}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_1X_2.X_{12}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_2.X_{12}}}}$$

The three partial correlations needed are:

AXIII.1 $$r_{X_1X_{11}.X_{12}} = \frac{r_{X_1X_{11}} - r_{X_1X_{12}}\, r_{X_{11}X_{12}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_1X_{12}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_{12}}}}$$

AXIII.2 $$r_{X_1X_2.X_{12}} = \frac{r_{X_1X_2} - r_{X_1X_{12}}\, r_{X_2X_{12}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_1X_{12}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_2X_{12}}}}$$

AXIII.3 $$r_{X_{11}X_2.X_{12}} = \frac{r_{X_{11}X_2} - r_{X_{11}X_{12}}\, r_{X_2X_{12}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_{12}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_2X_{12}}}}$$

## Model B

### Calculation for Prediction BII: $r_{X_{12}Y.X_3X_{13}X_{11}} = 0$

BII The formula for $r_{X_{12}Y.X_3X_{13}X_{11}}$ is:

$$\frac{r_{X_{12}Y.X_3X_{13}} - (r_{X_{12}X_{11}.X_3X_{13}})(r_{YX_{11}.X_3X_{13}})}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_{11}.X_3X_{13}}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{11}.X_3X_{13}}}}$$

The following components may then be determined:

BII.1
$$r_{X_{12}Y.X_3X_{13}} = \frac{r_{X_{12}Y.X_3} - r_{X_{12}X_{13}.X_3}\, r_{YX_{13}.X_3}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_{13}.X_3}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{13}.X_3}}}$$

BII.2
$$r_{X_{12}X_{11}.X_3X_{13}} = \frac{r_{X_{12}X_{11}.X_3} - r_{X_{12}X_{13}.X_3}\, r_{X_{11}X_{13}.X_3}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_{13}.X_3}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_{13}.X_3}}}$$

BII.3
$$r_{YX_{11}.X_3X_{13}} = \frac{r_{YX_{11}.X_3} - r_{YX_{13}.X_3}\, r_{X_{11}X_{13}.X_3}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_{13}.X_3}}\,\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_{13}.X_3}}}$$

2 OF 2

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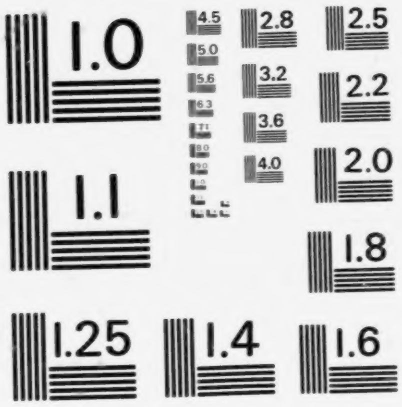
1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
6.3
7.1
8.0
9.0

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Each component may then be reduced to:

BII.41
$$r_{X_{12}Y.X_3} = \frac{r_{X_{12}Y} - r_{X_{12}X_3}\, r_{X_3Y}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_3}}\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_3Y}}}$$

BII.42
$$r_{X_{12}X_{13}.X_3} = \frac{r_{X_{12}X_{13}} - r_{X_{12}X_3}\, r_{X_3X_{13}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_3}}\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_3X_{13}}}}$$

BII.43
$$r_{YX_{13}.X_3} = \frac{r_{YX_{13}} - r_{YX_3}\, r_{X_3X_{13}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_3}}\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_3X_{13}}}}$$

BII.44
$$r_{X_{12}X_{11}.X_3} = \frac{r_{X_{12}X_{11}} - r_{X_{12}X_3}\, r_{X_3X_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{12}X_3}}\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_3X_{11}}}}$$

BII.45
$$r_{X_{11}X_{13}.X_3} = \frac{r_{X_{11}X_3} - r_{X_{11}X_3}\, r_{X_3X_{13}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}X_3}}\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_3X_{13}}}}$$

BII.46
$$r_{YX_{11}.X_3} = \frac{r_{YX_{11}} - r_{YX_3}\, r_{X_3X_{11}}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{YX_3}}\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_3X_{11}}}}$$

Calculation for Prediction BV: $r_{X_2Y.X_{11}} = 0$

BV The formula for $r_{X_2Y.X_{11}}$ is:

$$\frac{r_{X_2Y} - r_{X_2X_{11}}\, r_{X_{11}Y}}{\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_2X_{11}}}\sqrt{1-r^2_{X_{11}Y}}}$$

# APPENDIX II

## Coding Booklet - Decisions of Negro Mothers

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | | Card Number (1) |
| 2-4 | Line #2 on cover sheet | Interview Number |
| 5 | Line #1 on cover sheet | Interviewer<br>1-Carol McLean<br>2-Sylvia Dobbins<br>3-Evelyn Bettye Jones<br>4-Thelma Holliday<br>5-Brenda Nunn<br>6-Constance Reid<br>7-Viola High<br>8-Barbara O'Keefe<br>9-Veatrice White |
| 6 | On front sheet | Date of Interview:<br>1-Up to May 16<br>2-May 17 to May 26 (Central Boycott)<br>3-May 27 to June 4<br>4-June 5 to June 10 (Death of Kennedy)<br>5-June 11 to June 22<br>6-June 23 to June 30 (End of Resurrection City and Prison of Abernathy)<br>7-July 1 on |
| 7 | Line #2 on cover sheet | Type of School Child Attends:<br>1-Integrated school (#200-#300)<br>2-Segregated school (All other numbers) |
| 8 | 1, Additional comment | Marital Status<br>1-A-Single<br>2-B-Married, Husband Living with Family<br>3- Married, Husband Not Presently Living with Family<br>4-C-Widowed<br>5-D-Divorced<br>6-E-Separated<br>7-F-Deserted |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 9 | 2 | Total Number of Adults in Household<br>0-7 - Code the actual number<br>8 - For 8 or more |
| 10 | 3 | Total Number of Children in Household<br>0-7 - Code the actual number<br>8 - For 8 or more children |
| 11 | 4.1 through 4.6 | Number of Male Children in Orange County Elementary Schools<br>(Sum responses 4.1-4.6 and code the actual number) |
| 12 | 4.7 | Elementary Schools Attended by Male Children<br>0-No answer, Don't know<br>1-They also attend only integrated schools<br>2-They also attend only segregated schools<br>3-The male children attend both types of schools |
| 13 | 5.1 through 5.6 | Number of Female Children in Orange County Elementary Schools<br>(Sum responses 5.1-5.6 and code the actual number) |
| 14 | 5.7 | Elementary Schools Attended by Female Children<br>(Code as in Column #12) |
| 15 | 6 | Age of Male Head of House<br>1-Up to age 19<br>2-20 to 29<br>3-30 to 39<br>4-40 to 49<br>5-50 to 59<br>6-60 to 69<br>7-70 or over<br>9-No answer, Don't know |
| 16 | 7 | Age of Respondent (Mother of Child)<br>(Code as in Column #15) |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 17 | 8.1 through 8.3 | Employment Status of Male Head of House<br>0-Not employed, housewife, Don't know, No answer<br>1-Professional<br>2-White collar<br>3-Skilled labor, Service<br>4-Semi-skilled labor, Service<br>5-Farm: Owner<br>6-Farm: Labor, Tenant, Sharecropper<br>7-Unskilled |
| 18 | Special Note | Employment of Female Head of House<br>0-Not employed outside of house, housewife<br>1-Employed Part Time, 1-2 days a week<br>2-Employed Part Time, 3-4 days a week<br>3-Employed Full Time, 5 days a week |
| 19 | Additional comment | Employment Status of Female Head of House<br>(Code as in Column #17) |
| 20 | 9 | Religion (Religious Affiliation)<br>0-None, No answer, Don't know<br>1-Roman Catholic<br>2-Protestant, Methodist<br>3-Protestant, Baptist<br>4-Protestant, Presbyterian<br>5-Holiness, Pentacostal Faith |
| 21 | 10.1 and 10.2<br>12.1 through 12.6 | Church Attendance<br>0-Never (12.6 or 10.2)<br>1-Yes, Once a week or more (12.1)<br>2-Yes, Two or three times a month (12.2)<br>3-Yes, Once a month (12.3)<br>4-Yes, Once in two or three months (12.4)<br>5-Yes, Three times a year or less (12.5) |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 22 | 11 | Name of Church Attended<br>0-Do not attend church<br>1-Roman Catholic<br>2-Protestant, Methodist Sects<br>3-Protestant, Baptist Sects<br>4-Protestant, Presbyterian<br>5-Holiness, Pentacostal Faith Sects |
| 23 | 13.1 through 13.5 | Residence While Growing Up<br>1-In Orange County (13.1)<br>2-In the County next to Orange County (13.2)<br>3-Not in Orange County, but in North Carolina (13.3)<br>4-Not in North Carolina, but in the South (13.4)<br>5-Not in the South (13.5) |
| 24 | 14 | Father's Occupation<br>(Code as in Column #17) |
| 25 | 15.1 through 15.5 | Mother's Employment<br>(Code as in Column #18) |
| 26 | 16.1 through 16.3; 17.1 and 17.2 | Nearest School to Home<br>0-Negro school much closer (16.1 & 17.1)<br>1-Negro school a little closer (16.1 & 17.2)<br>2-Neither one (16.3)<br>3-White school a little closer (16.2 & 17.2)<br>4-White school much closer (16.2 & 17.1) |
| 27 | 18 | Highest Grade Completed by Respondent<br>Code as Guide is coded, but check to see that the response is the coded response and not a "raw" response (i.e., code directly, but check) |
| 28 | 19 | Highest Grade, Respondent's Mother<br>Code as in Column #27; Same Warning Holds |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 29 | 20 | Highest Grade, Respondent's Father<br>Code as in Column #27; Same Warning Holds |
| 30 | 21 | Highest Grade, Male Head of House<br>Code as in Column #27; Same Warning Holds |
|  | (NB: 31-36 Valuation of Education: Low is Anti-Education) |  |
| 31 | 22.1 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 32 | 22.2 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 33 | 22.3 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 34* | 22.4 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 35* | 22.5 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 36* | 22.6 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 37 | 23 | Education Required for Child<br>Code as in Column #27 |
| 38 | 24 | Education Desired for Child<br>Code as in Column #27 |
| 39 | 25 | Education Anticipated for Child<br>Code as in Column #27 |
| 40 | 26.1 through 26.5 | Over-all Comparison of White and Negro Schools<br>1-Negro much better (26.1)<br>2-Negro a little better (26.2)<br>3-No difference between white and Negro (26.3)<br>4-White a little better (26.5)<br>5-White much better (26.4) |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| (MB: Others' Feelings about Desegregation-Integration: High is Pro) (Social Approval) 41-46 | | |
| 41* | 27 | Relatives<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 42* | 28 | Friends and Neighbors<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 43* | 29 | Whites<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 44* | 30 | Negroes<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 45* | 31 | Male Head of House<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 46* | 32 | Respondent<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 47 | 33.1 through 33.5 | Perceived Probability of Desegregation-Integration<br>1-Now (33.1)<br>2-Less than 5 years (33.2)<br>3-At least 5 years (33.3)<br>4-Long time, but someday (33.4)<br>5-Never (33.5) |
| (MB: Importance of Others' Opinions: High is Important) (Weighting Factor) 48-52 | | |
| 48* | 34.1 | Relatives<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 49* | 34.2 | Friends and Neighbors<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 50* | 34.3 | Whites<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 51* | 34.4 | Negroes<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 52* | 34.5 | Male Head of House<br>Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| (MB: | Exposure to Mass Media) | 53-58 |
| 53 | 35.1 | Radio News<br>0-No<br>1-Yes, Raleigh-Located: KIX, RAL, PTF, LLE<br>2-Yes, Durham-Located: DNC, SRC, SSB<br>3-Yes, Greensboro-Located: BIG, EAL<br>4-Yes, Burlington-Located: BAG<br>5-Yes, Roxboro-Located: RXO<br>6-Yes, 2 of the above<br>7-Yes, 3 of the above |
| 54 | 35.2 | TV News<br>0-No<br>1-Yes, CBS, Nationally oriented<br>2-Yes, CBS, Locally oriented<br>3-Yes, ABC, Nationally oriented<br>4-Yes, ABC, Locally oriented<br>5-Yes, ABC-CBS Locally oriented<br>6-Yes, NBC Nationally oriented<br>7-Yes, NBC and either CBS or ABC Nationally oriented |
| 55 | 35.3 | Daily Papers<br>0-No<br>1-Yes, Durham Morning Herald<br>2-Yes, Durham Morning Sun<br>3-Yes, Burlington Times-News<br>4-Yes, Greensboro Daily News, Record<br>5-Yes, 2 of the above<br>6-Yes, 3 of the above |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 56 | 35.4 | Weekly Papers<br>0-No<br>1-Yes, Out-of-state weekly<br>2-Yes, Carolina Financial Times<br>3-Yes, News of Orange County (OC News)<br>4-Yes, Hillsborough-Mebane Enterprise Papers<br>5-Chapel Hill Weekly<br>6-Yes, 2 of the above<br>7-Yes, 3 of the above<br>8-Race Paper |
| 57 | 35.5 | Weekly Magazines<br>0-No, No answer, Don't know<br>1-Yes, Life, Look<br>2-Yes, Time, Newsweek<br>3-Yes, Saturday Evening Post<br>4-Yes, Religious Magazines<br>5-Yes, Race Magazines: Jet<br>6-Yes, 2 or more of the above, but not #5<br>7-Yes, 2 or more of the above, including #5 |
| 58 | 35.6 | Monthly Magazines<br>0-No, No answer, Don't know<br>1-Yes, Women's Magazines: Redbook, etc.<br>2-Yes, Men's Sporting Magazines<br>3-Yes, Reader's Digest<br>4-Yes, Job-related publications<br>5-Yes, Farm-related journals<br>6-Yes, Professional journals<br>7-Yes, Race Magazines: Ebony<br>8-Yes, 7 plus others<br>9-Yes, more than one of the above, but not 7 or 8 |
| 59 | 36.1 | Hourly Exposure to Radio News, per Week<br>0-None<br>1-Less than 1 hour per week<br>2-From 1 hour to less than 3 hours<br>3-From 3 hours to less than 5 hours<br>4-From 5 hours to less than 7 hours |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| | | Hourly Exposure to Radio News, per week (cont'd)<br>5-From 7 hours to less than 9 hours<br>6-From 9 hours to less than 11 hours<br>7-From 11 hours to less than 13 hours<br>8-From 13 hours to less than 15 hours |
| 60 | 36.2 | Hourly Exposure to TV News, per Week<br>Code as in Column #59 |
| 61 | 38.1 | Negro Community Leaders<br>0-No answer, Don't know<br>1-Religious leader<br>2-Businessman, Economic leader<br>3-Education related<br>4-State-service related: Agriculture, Welfare<br>5-Race leader<br>6-Friends<br>7-Local recreation service related |
| 62 | 38.2 | Negro Leaders, Cont'd<br>Code as in Column #61 |
| 63 | 38.3 | Negro Leaders, Cont'd<br>Code as in Column #61 |
| 64 | 38.4 | White Community Leaders<br>0-No answer, Don't know<br>1-State-service related: Agriculture<br>3-Businessman<br>4-Political figure<br>5-Religious figure<br>6-Social aid worker, State<br>7-Social figure: non-state welfare |
| 65 | 38.5 | White Leaders, Cont'd<br>Code as in Column #16 |
| 66 | 38.6 | White Leaders, Cont'd<br>Code as in Column #64 |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| (NB: | Srole Scale, | Anomie: Low is more anomic) 67-72 |
| 67 | 39.1 | Code 0-Agree (1)<br>1-Disagree (2) |
| 68 | 39.2 | Code as in Column #67 |
| 69 | 39.3 | Code as in Column #67 |
| 70 | 39.4 | Code as in Column #67 |
| 71 | 39.5 | Code as in Column #67 |
| 72 | 39.6 | Code as in Column #67 |
| 73 | 39.1 through<br>39.6 | Srole Scale Value<br>Sum the codes in Columns 67-72 and insert in Column 73 |
| 74 | 37.1 | Howard Fuller<br>0-Don't know, No answer<br>1-Incorrect Answer, Completely<br>2-Incorrect Answer, Partially<br>3-Vague Answer, Correct as is, but incomplete<br>4-Correct Answer, Complete |
| 75 | 37.2 | Nick Galifianakis<br>Code as in Column #74 |
| 76 | 37.3 | Reginald Hawkins<br>Code as in Column #74 |
| 77 | 37.4 | G. Paul Carr<br>Code as in Column #74 |
| 78 | 37.5 | Whitney Young<br>Code as in Column #74 |
| 79 | 37.6 | H. Rapp Brown<br>Code as in Column #74 |
| 80 | Additional | Children Over 14 Attending Central High<br>0-No<br>1-Yes |

## Coding Sheet 2

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | | Card Number (2) |
| 2-4 | Line #2 on cover sheet | Interview Number |
| | (MB: Seeman Powerlessness Scale: Low is Powerlessness) 5-15 | |
| 5 | 40.1-40.2 | Code 0-.1<br>1-.2 |
| 6* | 41.1-41.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 7 | 42.1-42.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 8 | 43.1-43.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 9* | 44.1-44.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 10* | 45.1-45.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 11* | 46.1-46.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 12 | 47.1-47.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 13* | 48.1-48.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 14 | 49.1-49.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| 15 | 50.1-50.2 | Code as in Column #5 |
| | (MB: Valuation of Desegregation-Integration: Low is Low Valuation) 16-21 | |
| 16 | 51.1 | Code 1-SA-A<br>2-A-B<br>3-U-C<br>4-D-D<br>5-SD-E |
| 17* | 51.2 | Code as in Column #16 |
| 18 | 51.3 | Code as in Column #16 |
| 19 | 51.4 | Code as in Column #16 |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 20 | 51.5 | Code as in Column #16 |
| 21* | 51.6 | Code as in Column #16 |

(MB: Preferred Degree of Social Distance: Low is Greater Distance Preferred) 22-25

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 22 | 52.1-52.2 | Eat with White<br>0-Yes (.1)<br>1-No (.2) |
| 23 | 53.1-53.2 | Dance with White<br>Code as in Column #22 |
| 24 | 54.1-54.2 | Party with White<br>Code as in Column #22 |
| 25 | 55.1-55.2 | Intermarry with White<br>Code as in Column #22 |

(MB: Non Civil Rights Activity: Low is Little Activity) 26-32

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 26 | 56.1-56.2 | Church Groups<br>0-Never a member<br>1-Yes, a member of 1 group of this kind<br>2-Yes, a member of 2 groups of this kind<br>3-Yes, a member of 3 groups of this kind<br>4-Yes, a member of 4 groups of this kind<br>5-Yes, a member of 5 groups of this kind<br>6-Yes, a member of 6 groups of this kind<br>7-Yes, a member of 7 groups of this kind<br>8-Yes, a member of 8 groups of this kind |
| 27 | 57.1-57.2 | Social Clubs<br>Code as in Column #26 |
| 28 | 58.1-58.2 | Political Clubs<br>Code as in Column #26 |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 29 | 59.1-59.2 | Job- or Union-Groups<br>Code as in Column #26 |
| 30 | 60.1-60.2 | Parents' Groups<br>Code as in Column #26 |
| 31 | 61.1-61.2 | Neighborhood Groups<br>Code as in Column #26 |
| 32 | 62 | Miscellaneous Groups<br>Code as in Column #26 |

(NB: Odd Numbers Anti-White Scale, Even Numbers Anti-Negro Scale: Low is Pro) 33-47

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 33 | 63.1 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 34* | 63.2 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 35* | 63.3 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 36* | 63.4 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 37 | 63.5 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 38* | 63.6 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 39* | 63.7 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 40* | 63.8 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 41* | 63.9 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 42* | 63.10 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |
| 43* | 63.11 | Self-Coding: | Take right off Questionnaire |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 44* | 63.12 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 45* | 63.13 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 46* | 63.14 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 47* | 63.15 | Self-Coding: Take right off Questionnaire |
| 48-57 | 64.1 through 64.11 | 0-No one in house has<br>1-Respondent only, in 1968, once<br>2-Husband only, in 1968, once<br>3-Both, in 1968, once<br>4-Respondent only, prior to 1968, once<br>5-Husband only, prior to 1968, once<br>6-Both, prior to 1968, once<br>7-1 or 4, but more than once<br>8-2 or 5, but more than once<br>9-3 or 6, but more than once |
| 58-67 | 64.1 through 64.11 | Code: 0-No<br>1-Yes |
| 58 | 64.1 | Times 1 |
| 59 | 64.2 | Times 1 |
| 60 | 64.3 | Times 2 |
| 61 | 64.4 | Times 3 |
| 62 | 64.5 | Times 3; if more than 3 times, also add 2 |
| 63 | 64.6 | Times 3; if more than 3 times, also add 2 |
| 64 | 64.7 | Times 2 |
| 65 | 64.8 | Times 5; if more than 2 times, add 3 |
| 66-67 | 64.9-64.10 | Times 5; if more than 2 times, add 5 |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 68-69 | | Add Columns 58-65, plus sum of 66-67 |
| 70-71 | | Add 0 for 0, 2, 5, 8<br>Add 1's for 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9 |
| 72 | 65.1-65.2 | Fear of Physical Punishment to Child for Integrating<br>0-Yes (.1)<br>1-No (.2) |
| 73 | 66.1-66.2 | Fear of Physical Punishment to Family for Integrating<br>0-Yes (.1)<br>1-No (.2) |
| 74* | 67.1-67.2 | More Opportunity for Child by Integrating<br>0-Yes (.1)<br>1-No (.2) |
| 75* | 68.1-68.2 | Better Education for Child by Integrating<br>0-Yes (.1)<br>1-No (.2) |
| 76* | 69.1-69.2 | Status Gain for Child in Eyes of Peers<br>0-Yes (.1)<br>1-No (.2) |
| 77* | 70.1-70.2 | Status Gain for Family in Eyes of its Peers<br>0-Yes (.1)<br>1-No (.2) |
| 78 | 71.1-71.3 | School Attended by Children<br>1-All attend white (integrated) schools<br>2-All attend Negro schools<br>3-At least one child in each type of school |

| Column # | Question # | Code |
|---|---|---|
| 79 | Last question asked | Why Doesn't the Child Attend the Other Type of School<br>0-Cannot afford<br>1-Fear: bad treatment<br>2-Child's choice<br>3-Father's choice, other family member<br>4-Superiority-equality of black school<br>5-Superiority-equality of white school<br>6-Distance, transportation; travel<br>7-Little thought, inaction, previous history<br>8-School administration made decision |
| 80 | SC | Skin Color<br>0-Dark<br>1-Medium<br>2-Light |

NOTE TO CODERS: Unless otherwise specified, code 9 as
Don't know,
No answer,
Not applicable

The two integrated schools are Aycock and Cameron Park.

*Reverse Coding

# APPENDIX III

# Correlation Matrix

| | $X_1$ | $X_2$ | $X_3$ | $X_7$ | $X_{10}$ | $X_{11}$ | $X_{12}$ | $X_{13}$ | $Y$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $X_1$ | 1.000 | | | | | | | | |
| $X_2$ | .050 | 1.000 | | | | | | | |
| $X_3$ | .133 | .209 | 1.000 | | | | | | |
| $X_7$ | -.179 | -.010 | -.110 | 1.000 | | | | | |
| $X_{10}$ | .117 | .076 | -.001 | .238 | 1.000 | | | | |
| $X_{11}$ | .075 | .251 | .522 | -.290 | -.051 | 1.000 | | | |
| $X_{12}$ | .023 | .219 | .477 | -.159 | -.094 | .383 | 1.000 | | |
| $X_{13}$ | .065 | .199 | .448 | -.053 | .055 | .441 | .546 | 1.000 | |
| $Y$ | .298 | .264 | .488 | -.208 | .007 | .505 | .349 | .364 | 1.000 |

# APPENDIX IV

UNC Institute for Research

Project No. 244

Interviewer ________________

Interview No. ______________

# Orange County Attitude and Opinion Study

Hello, I'm ____________. I'm with a group of people at the University of North Carolina who are studying the opinions and attitudes of the people of Orange County, and this household has been selected at random to be interviewed. Since we are looking at attitudes and opinions, there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. Your opinions will be treated confidentially, and when you and I finish, the information will be taken to the University and put on IBM cards, so that we can compare the opinions of people in different age groups, people in different jobs, and so on. Your name will not be written down anywhere on this study. First I'd like to get some background information.....

Are you (a) Single, (b) Married, (c) Widowed, (d) Divorced, (e) Separated, (f) Deserted, (g) Other (SPECIFY)

1. __________

How many adults (17 and over) counting yourself, live here?

2. __________

How many of your children (or children to whom you are guardian) live with you?

3. __________

How many of your boys are enrolled in Orange County elementary schools, and in what grades?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4.1 ______ | 4.2 ______ | 4.3 ______ | 4.4 ______ | 4.5 ______ | 4.6 ______ |
| Grade 1 | Grade 2 | Grade 3 | Grade 4 | Grade 5 | Grade 6 |

What is (are) the name(s) of the elementary school(s) the boys go to?

4.7 ____________________________________________

How many of your girls are enrolled in Orange County elementary schools, and in what grades?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5.1 ______ | 5.2 ______ | 5.3 ______ | 5.4 ______ | 5.5 ______ | 5.6 ______ |
| Grade 1 | Grade 2 | Grade 3 | Grade 4 | Grade 5 | Grade 6 |

What is (are) the name(s) of the elementary school(s) the girls go to?

5.7 ____________________________________________

How old is your husband (IF HUSBAND NOT LIVING HERE, "FRIEND", OR ELSE "THE MAN OF THE HOUSE")?

6. __________ years

And your age is?

7. __________ years

Is your husband (or MAN OF THE HOUSE) employed at present?

8.1 __________ yes
8.2 __________ no

What sort of work does (if unemployed, "DID") he do?

8.3 ______________________________
(TITLE OF JOB, AND DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES)

What is your religion, if any?

9. ______________________________
(GENERAL NAME, AND DENOMINATION)

Do you ever attend church?

10.1 __________ yes
10.2 __________ no

(IF ANSWER IS 'NO' SKIP) Which church do you attend most often?

11. ______________________________
(GET NAME AND ADDRESS, OR PASTOR/MINISTER)

(IF ANSWER TO 10 IS 'NO' SKIP) How often would you say you attend church?

12.1 __________ Once a week or more
12.2 __________ 2 or 3 times a month
12.3 __________ Once a month
12.4 __________ Once in 2 or 3 months
12.5 __________ 3 times a year or less
12.6 __________ Never

Where did you live, for the most part, while you were growing up?

13.1 __________ In Orange County
13.2 __________ In the county next to Orange County
13.3 __________ Not in Orange County, but in North Carolina
13.4 __________ Not in North Carolina, but in the south (WHERE?) __________
13.5 __________ Not in the south (WHERE?) __________

What was your father's usual job, while you were growing up?

14. ______________________________
(TITLE OF JOB AND DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES) (IF FARM, SPECIFY: Owner? Tenant? Sharecropper? Manager? Farm Laborer?)

Did your mother work outside the home during the years you were growing up?

15.1 __________ yes
15.2 __________ no

(IF "YES" ASK) Did she usually work

15.3 __________ Part time, 1 or 2 days a week
15.4 __________ Part time, 3 or 4 days a week
15.5 __________ Full time, 5 or more days a week

Which elementary school is closer to your home, the nearest Negro elementary school or the nearest white elementary school?

16.1 __________ Negro school
16.2 __________ White school
16.3 __________ Both are about the same distance from the house

(IF EITHER 16.1 OR 16.2, ASK) Would you say that it is:

17.1 __________ Much closer to my house
17.2 __________ Just a little closer to my house

What was the highest grade of school you completed?

18. __________ (SEE GUIDE)

What was the highest grade of school your mother completed?

19. __________ (SEE GUIDE)

What was the highest grade of school your father completed?

20. __________ (SEE GUIDE)

What was the highest grade of school your husband (Friend, Man of the house) completed?

21. __________ (SEE GUIDE)

GUIDE: 1 - 0-4
2 - 5-8
3 - at least 9, but not a high school graduate
4 - graduated from high school
5 - some non-college, post high school training
6 - some college
7 - graduated from college
8 - post-graduate college
9 - Don't know, No answer

PAUSE

Now I'd like to ask you some of your opinions on education. Would you say that you (HAND CARD 1 TO RESPONDENT AND READ)

1 - Strongly agree
2 - Agree
3 - Are undecided
4 - Disagree
5 - Strongly disagree

to the following statements:

22.1 _____ Most young people are getting too much education.
22.2 _____ An education is not much help in meeting the problems of real life.
22.3 _____ Education only makes a person discontented.
22.4 _____ A good education is a great comfort to a man out of work.
22.5 _____ The more education a person has, the better he is able to enjoy life.
22.6 _____ Education is more valuable than most people think.

About how many years of education do you think your children will need to make a decent living?

23. _____ years

If you had your own way, how many years of schooling would you like your children to get?

24. _____ years

Considering how things are, how many years of schooling do you expect your child to finish?

25. _____ years

Knowing what you do about the Orange County schools, how would you compare the Negro schools and the white schools, over-all, as to the ability of the schools to give a good education? In giving your answer, think about such things as having good teachers, enough supplies, enough books, the conditions of the classrooms - are they too crowded - and other things that you feel are important for getting a good education.

26.1 _____ I think that the Negro schools give a much better education than the white schools.
26.2 _____ I think that the Negro schools give a little better education than the white schools.
26.3 _____ I really think that there is no difference in the education received at the white and Negro schools.
26.4 _____ I think that the white schools give a much better education than the Negro schools.
26.5 _____ I think that the white schools give a little better education than the Negro schools.

Recently, the newspapers have been writing many articles on school desegregation and integration. We'd like to ask you how you think different groups of people in Orange County (would) feel about your enrolling your child in a desegregated, formerly white school. Do you think they:

1 - Strongly approve
2 - Approve
3 - Really don't care one way or the other
4 - Disapprove
5 - Strongly disapprove

of school desegregation and integration:

27. _____ Your relatives
28. _____ Your friends and neighbors
29. _____ The white people in Orange County
30. _____ The Negro people in Orange County
31. _____ Your husband (Friend, or Man of the house)
32. _____ You

What do you think the chances are for complete desegregation and integration of the Orange County schools?

33.1 _____ We now have complete school desegregation and integration.
33.2 _____ We will have complete school desegregation and integration very soon, in 3 or 4 years at the most.
33.3 _____ We will have complete school desegregation and integration, but not very soon, not earlier than 5 years.
33.4 _____ If we have complete integration, it won't be in my time.
33.5 _____ We will never have complete integration.

If you were making an important decision about public problems, or about what is happening in the country or this community, how important to you would the opinion and advice of the following persons be:

1 - Very important
2 - Fairly important
3 - Fairly unimportant
4 - Very unimportant

34.1 _____ Most of your relatives
34.2 _____ Most of your friends and neighbors
34.3 _____ Most of the white people in Orange County
34.4 _____ Most of the Negro people in Orange County
34.5 _____ Your husband (Friend, or Man of the house)

(PAUSE)

Do you regularly:

| | | YES | NO | WHICH ONE(S)? |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35.1 | Listen to news on the radio? | | | |
| 35.2 | Watch the news shows on TV? | | | |
| 35.3 | Read daily newspaper(s)? | | | |
| 35.4 | Read newspaper(s) that come out once a week? | | | |
| 35.5 | Read magazine(s) that come out once a week? | | | |
| 35.6 | Read magazine(s) that come out about once a month? | | | |

About how many hours during an average week do you:

36.1 _____ hour(s) listen to news on the radio?

36.2 _____ hour(s) watch the news on TV?

Now I'd like to read off the names of some people who have been in the news recently. Actually, many people have heard of one or two of the names, but very few people know who all of these people are. I'll read off a name to you, and you tell me what he does, or what he is known for:

37.1 Howard Fuller ________________

37.2 Nick Galifianakis ________________

37.3 Reginald Hawkins ________________

37.4 G. Paul Carr ________________

37.5 Whitney Young ________________

37.6 H. Rapp Brown ________________

(PAUSE)

In most towns, there are usually some people who can get things done for people. Who are the Negro people here (in this community) who a person would go to to get something done?

38.1 ________________

38.2 ________________

38.3 ________________

Who are the white people?

38.4 ____________________

38.5 ____________________

38.6 ____________________

Now I'd like to ask your opinions about some areas of life. Do you (1) AGREE (2) DISAGREE with the following statements:

39.1 _____ There is not much use in people like me voting because all the candidates are usually against what I want.

39.2 _____ There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

39.3 _____ Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

39.4 _____ In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

39.5 _____ It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

39.6 _____ These days a person doesn't know whom he can count on.

And now, I'd like to read to you several pairs of statements. Choose the one statement out of the two read to you, that you personally believe to be the most true:

40.1 _____ Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck. OR,

40.2 _____ People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

----------

41.1 _____ One of the reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics. OR,

41.2 _____ There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

----------

42.1 _____ No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you. OR,

42.2 _____ People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

----------

43.1 _____ I have often found that what is going to happen will happen. OR,

43.2 _____ Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

44.1 _____ Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it. OR,

44.2 _____ Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

----------

45.1 _____ With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption. OR,

45.2 _____ It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

----------

46.1 _____ What happens to me is my own doing. OR,

46.2 _____ Sometimes I don't feel that I have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

----------

47.1 _____ Most of the time I don't understand why politicians behave the way they do. OR,

47.2 _____ In the long run, the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

----------

48.1 _____ The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions. OR,

48.2 _____ This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

----------

49.1 _____ As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control. OR,

49.2 _____ By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.

----------

50.1 _____ Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings. OR,

50.2 _____ There really is no such thing as "luck".

Now I'd like for you to tell me whether you

A - Strongly Agree
B - Agree
C - Are undecided
D - Disagree
E - Strongly disagree

with the following statements:

51.1 _____ Separate churches for white and colored people should be maintained, since church membership is a matter of individual choice.

51.2 _____ There is no difference between the Negro and white races in their potential cultural and intellectual level.

51.3 _____ Admitting Negroes to white schools would not work, because most Negroes do not have the necessary background to keep up with the white students.

51.4 _____ If a Negro were elected to public office, social pressures by both whites and Negroes would prevent his doing a good job.

51.5 _____ One of the reasons for maintaining segregation is that the Negro will be able to find more equal opportunities with his own people.

51.6 _____ The best way to solve the race problem is to encourage intermarriage so that there will eventually be only one race.

Do you think you would ever find it a little distasteful:

to eat at the same table with a white person?

52.1 _____ yes
52.2 _____ no

to dance with a white person?

53.1 _____ yes
53.2 _____ no

to go to a party and find that most of the people were white?

54.1 _____ yes
54.2 _____ no

to have a white person marry someone in your family?

55.1 _____ yes
55.2 _____ no

And now I'd like to ask you about your membership in various kinds of organizations. Have you ever been a member of a church group, or church ladies club?

56.1 _____ Yes - How many groups or clubs of this kind? _____
56.2 _____ No

A local social club?

57.1 _____ Yes - If more than one, how many? _____
57.2 _____ No

A local political club or organization?

58.1 _____ Yes - If more than one, how many? _____
58.2 _____ No

A job-connected club, group or union?

59.1 _____ Yes - If more than one, how many? _____
59.2 _____ No

A parents' organization, either at school or otherwise?

60.1 _____ Yes - If more than one, how many? _____
60.2 _____ No

A neighborhood group or club?

61.1 _____ Yes - If more than one, how many? _____
61.2 _____ No

Any other group, club, organization or society? (SPECIFY)

62. ________________________________________________

Now these last 3 sets of questions and we're through. First, I'd like you to listen to each statement that I read, and tell me if you would say:

1 - I agree very much
2 - I agree pretty much
3 - I agree a little
4 - I disagree a little
5 - I disagree pretty much
6 - I disagree very much

63.1 _____ There are many white people who are not prejudiced and who sincerely believe that Negroes are equal.

63.2 _____ A large part of the problems facing Negroes today are caused by Negroes themselves.

63.3 _____ Most white people are always looking for ways to cheat and steal from the colored people.

63.4 _____ Too many Negroes, when they get a little money, spend it all on whiskey, flashy cars, or expensive clothes.

63.5 _____ Usually, it is not a mistake to trust a white person.

63.6 _____ Segregation and Jim Crow will never end unless the average colored person becomes better educated and better mannered.

63.7 _____ No matter how nicely they treat a colored person, white people don't really mean it.

63.8 _____ A great many Negroes become overbearing and disagreeable when given positions of responsibility and authority.

63.9 _____ Negroes are usually in better physical shape, and healthier, than whites.

63.10 _____ One important reason why Negroes are discriminated against in housing is that they don't keep up the property.

63.11 _____ There is nothing lower than white trash.

63.12 _____ One big reason why racial prejudice is still so strong is that Negroes offend people by being so sensitive about racial matters.

63.13 _____ White people are only friendly to Negroes when they want something out of them.

63.14 _____ With all the drinking, cutting, and other immoral acts of some Negroes, white people are almost justified for being prejudiced.

63.15 _____ The world might be a better place if there were fewer white people.

This set of questions has to do with Civil Rights activities. Have either you or the man of the house ever:

(ASK ALL 'YES' OR 'NO' QUESTIONS FIRST. THEN GO BACK AND ASK THE REST OF THE QUESTIONS FOR THOSE ACTIVITIES RECEIVING 'YES' ANSWERS ONLY)

| | Yes | No | You Husband? Both? | No. of Times | When (WHAT YEARS) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 64.1 Signed a civil rights petition | | | | | |
| 64.2 Attended civil rights meetings | | | | | |
| 64.3 Joined civil rights organization | | | | | |
| 64.4 Been elected/ appointed an officer in a civil rights organization | | | | | |
| 64.5 Marched for civil rights | | | | | |
| 64.6 Picketted for civil rights | | | | | |
| 64.7 Boycotted store or place of business for civil rights | | | | | |
| 64.8 Taken part in sit-in for civil rights | | | | | |
| 64.9 Been arrested for civil rights activity | | | | | |
| 64.10 Participated in a riot for civil rights | | | | | |
| 64.11 Done any other civil rights activity (SPECIFY) | | | | | |

And now these last questions:

Do you think your child would be beaten up if he attends a school with whites?

65.1 _____ yes
65.2 _____ no

Do you think your family would be beaten up if your child attends school with whites?

66.1 _____ yes
66.2 _____ no

Do you think your child will make more money and have more opportunity if he attends a school with whites?

67.1 _____ yes
67.2 _____ no

Do you think your child would obtain a better education by attending a school with whites?

68.1 _____ yes
68.2 _____ no

Do you think your child would be looked up to more by his friends by attending school with whites?

69.1 _____ yes
69.2 _____ no

Do you think your family would be looked up to more by friends if your child attends school with whites?

70.1 _____ yes
70.2 _____ no

Does your child attend Negro or white elementary schools?

71.1 _____ white
71.2 _____ Negro
71.3 _____ at least one child in each

Why (don't) (doesn't) your (children) (child) attend the (Negro) (white) schools?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND EFFORT.

SC:
D ___ M ___ L ___

# APPENDIX V

# Interviewer Manual

by

Marvin Levy

(with minor changes and additions to the original
by
Murray Binderman)

The information you are about to receive in this manual is to serve as a guide to all interviewers engaged in the conduct of this survey. The interviewer is asked to become thoroughly familiar with this manual, the contents of the questionnaire, and the proper method of questionnaire administration.

The interviewer role is an exceedingly difficult but important one to assume. The reliability and validity of the survey rest on the skill with which the interviewer administers the questionnaire. In turn, the value of the results of this study to the community, in terms of evaluation and planning for future community needs and requirements, is dependent on accurate, complete data.

If, during the course of the training sessions, any questions arise as to procedure, interpretation, data gathering or recording, make certain the questions are answered and any problems solved.

## Interviewing Procedure

The art of interviewing consists of creating the proper situation in which the respondent's answers will approach complete reliability and validity. The respondent should feel encouraged to voice her frank opinions and attitudes without receiving the impression that they are negatively received by the interviewer, or that they will be maintained in any but the most professional confidence. The interviewer should, under no circumstances, express surprise or reveal private judgments as to the respondent's answers.

The following steps should be understood and undertaken by the interviewer.

### 1. Create a Friendly Atmosphere

a. The interviewer's introduction should be brief, casual, and positive. The introduction should assure the respondent that a reliable organization is conducting the research and that the interview is of the utmost importance. It should also include a general statement as to the purpose of the interview. The organization conducting the study is interested in the responses to the questions; thus, the interviewer should get to the questions as quickly and smoothly as possible.

b. The aim of the interviewer should be to interview every eligible subject. A small proportion of the population may be suspicious, and a larger percentage may require a bit of encouragement or mild persuasion; but the competent interviewer will soon discover that less than one potential respondent in twenty actually will turn her down. Many people seem flattered to be singled out for an interview, while others seem delighted at the opportunity to voice an opinion and have an audience. The interviewer should answer any legitimate questions that the respondent asks and should, if necessary, produce her credentials and explain that names are not recorded, and that the interview is not a test (there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers), but simply an attempt to find out what many of the people are thinking by asking a few of them what they are thinking.

c. The interviewer's manner should be friendly, courteous, conversational and unbiased. She should be neither too grim nor too effusive, neither too talkative nor too timid. A competent interviewer puts her respondent at east so as to be able to fully and freely elicit information.

d. Of great importance is the point that an informal, conversational interview is dependent upon a complete and thorough mastery of the actual questions in the schedule by the interviewer. She should be familiar enough with the questions and their order to present them conversationally, rather than to read them stiffly, to know which ones are imminent without pausing to study the questionnaire in detail.

e. The interviewer's function can be likened to that of a reporter, not that of an evangelist, a curiosity-seeker, or a debator. The interviewer should take all shades of opinion in her stride, showing neither surprise, nor disapproval, nor shock at a respondent's answers. The competent interviewer assumes an interested manner toward the respondent's replies and never divulges personal opinion. If she is asked for her view, she lightly laughs off the request with the remark that her job at the moment is to obtain opinions, not to have them.

f. The interviewer must keep the control of the interview in her own hands, discouraging irrelevent conversation and endeavoring to keep the respondent on the point. Fortunately, she will usually find that the rambling, talkative respondent is the very one who least resents a firm but pleasant insistence on attention to the business of the interview.

2. Asking the Question

a. Ask each question as it is worded.

b. Do not attempt to explain or interpret the question. If a respondent gives evidence of not understanding a particular question the interviewer can only repeat it slowly, with proper emphasis, offering only such explanation as may be specifically authorized in her instructions. If the respondent continues to lack understanding of the question, note this fact on the questionnaire and go on to the next question. Fortunately, lack of understanding will rarely occur, since most of the questions have been tested for clarity to a respondent on a sample similar in most respects to the one you are interviewing, and unclear and offending questions have, as a result, been noted and revised.

c. The questions must be asked in the same order as they appear in the questionnaire.

d. Every question must be asked, unless the directions on the questionnaire specifically require the interviewer to omit certain contingency questions. In the event that the respondent has already answered a question as a result of a preceding one, the interviewer may preface the question with the remark, "You have already said something about this, but let me ask you ...." This will indicate to the subject that the interviewer has paid attention to the responses.

3. Obtain the Response

a. Obtain a specific, complete response. The respondent may attempt, with or without meaning to, to talk 'around' the subject of the question, without answering the actual question. Some of the conversation on the part of the respondent may be in the nature of recall, and thus be useful in helping her to arrive at an answer. While not stopping her abruptly, the interviewer should gently and persistently repeat the question until an answer has been obtained.

b. The interviewer must be extremely careful to omit the supplying of a possible response. Do not lead the respondent into an answer. If, for example, the respondent hesitates in the selection from alternative/ responses to a closed-ended question, the interviewer can only repeat the question, or ask, "In general, what would you say?" Again, the interviewer must never suggest the choice of an answer.

c. An "I don't know" or "I can't remember" response may require a bit of delicate probing on the interviewer's part. The respondent may have ideas about a subject but may never have been called upon to articulate them before. She may not remember because an event occurred in the distant past or was unpleasant. Remember that a judiciously worded probe may result in information otherwise not attainable.

d. If a qualification is given to a "Yes-No" or "Agree-Disagree" type of question, the competent interviewer will say, "In general, what would you say?" or "The way things look to you now, what would you say?" If the respondent continues to qualify her answer, the interviewer should make a note of the qualification next to the question.

### 4. Report the Response

a. Record the answers clearly. Illegible handwriting or careless recording may render the entire questionnaire useless. The interviewer should remember that the coding and analysis of the questionnaire are to be done by individuals who are unfamiliar with her handwriting. Record the responses in the places assigned for this purpose and use no abbreviations unless they are commonly accepted ones. The interviewer might put herself in the position of the questionnaire coder and ask herself whether the entries on the questionnaire would be clear, readable and unambiguous if she were reading them for the first time, rather than entering them.

b. Make a habit of checking through each interview immediately after its completion. If the questionnaire lacks any information, or contains errors and omissions, this will be the only time that such problems can be corrected. Some of the answers may not have been recorded in their entirety during the course of the interview. If the interview is edited immediately, a more complete answer is attainable and, once recorded, will increase the usefulness of the questionnaire for the study.

c. Quote the respondent directly. The competent interviewer does not summarize the reply in her own words, nor does she "polish up" slang, incorrect grammar or weak vocabulary.

5. Sample

The interviewer has the ultimate responsibility to interview the subject who has been selected for the sample. Make certain to contact the correct person. If unable to do so, report back to the interviewer supervisor immediately for instructions. Failure to interview the subjects selected for the sample can render the entire survey invalid. Under no circumstances should the interviewer take it upon herself to select a respondent to replace the one unable to be interviewed.

6. Bias

The interviewer's evaluation of the respondent, as well as the respondent's evaluation of the interviewer influence the interview situation and the results obtained therewith. In order to keep bias at a minimum, there are several cautions that must be heeded.

a. The interviewer's appearance must be neutral. This means that the interviewer might be classified by the respondent in any one of a number of categories: rich, poor, well-educated, poorly-educated, Democrat, Republican, urban-reared, rural-reared, and so on. The impression of "generalness" should be maintained throughout the interview. While the means of maintaining this guise will vary from locality to locality, some suggestions might be advanced:

(1) Dress should be plain and neat.
(2) Personal appearance should be "average."
(3) Speech should be carefully modulated, including choice of vocabulary.
(4) During the course of the interview, the interviewer should refrain from expressing opinions, even if they are in agreement with those of the respondent.

b. When possible, conduct the interview privately, so that the respondent does not have to modify her responses in acknowledgment of a third party. It may be necessary to interview a housewife while her children are present. Avoid, however, interviewing a respondent while friends or family are in the same room in which the interview is to be conducted. If this situation appears likely to occur, stress the importance and the private nature of the interview, as well as the necessity of obtaining only her opinions and attitudes. Suggest that the interview be conducted in another part of the house, perhaps the kitchen or the dining room.

c. Adopt an informal, conversational manner.

d. Do not form any opinions of the respondent on the basis of prior experience or knowledge. For instance, it would be an error to assume that a 4th grade education would limit either the ability of the respondent to reply to certain questions or the utility of such responses.

Finally, remember to ask questions of your supervisor about any matter troubling you dealing with the study.